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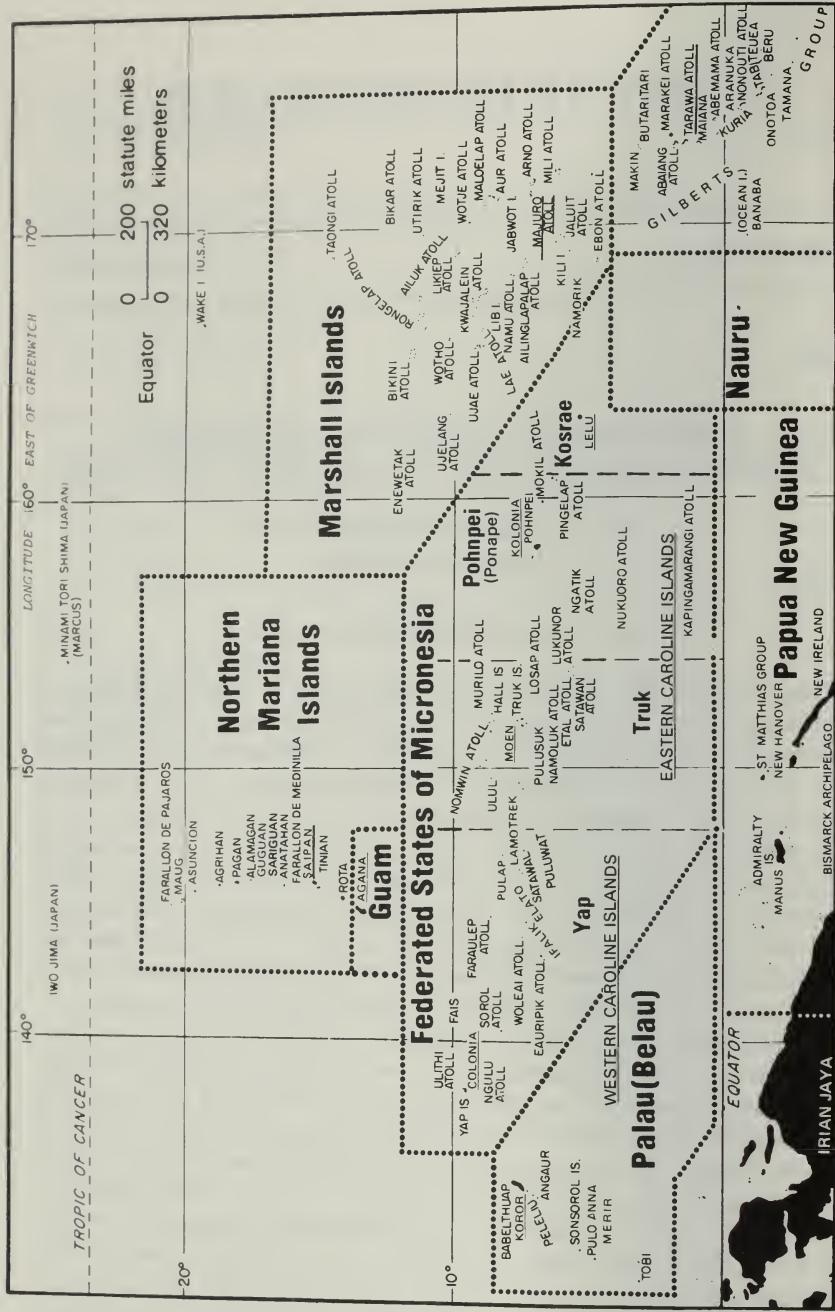
A MARSHALLESE NATION EMERGES FROM THE POLITICAL FRAGMENTATION OF AMERICAN MICRONESIA

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Introduction

Prior to World War II, the sole colonial holding by the United States in Micronesia was Guam, largest of the Mariana Islands, which had been annexed after the Spanish-American War in 1898 and was administered by the US Navy Department as a strategic facility. In 1944, American military forces began their occupation of other parts of Micronesia by invading the Marshall Islands. They gained control of the remaining Japanese-mandated islands in 1945 upon the surrender of Japan. These islands, not including Guam, were designated a strategic trust territory in 1947 by the United Nations Security Council. The United States was appointed administrator and charged with fostering self-government or independence according to the wishes of the Micronesian islanders.

In this essay, I have chosen to focus on the Marshall Islands, easternmost in American Micronesia, as but one of the several ethnic and geographic groups in the trust area that have emerged as self-governing states after more than forty years of administrative relations with the United States. To understand the issues that now face the Marshallese people and their government it is necessary, first, to recount the wider historical context in which all of the peoples under trusteeship, including the Marshallese, have responded to the changing administrative policies and political interests of the United States since World War II. My choice of the Marshalls as a case study of change in Micronesia, in the second part of this essay, is based on personal research and observa-



tion in that area from 1946 to the present. Frequent visits to other parts of the trust area have enabled me to view the larger picture as well, although other observers are more qualified to engage in detailed examinations of what is emerging politically and otherwise in the new states of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and the Republic of Belau.

It would be equally useful to compare the Micronesian experiences of political and social change with those of other Pacific Island peoples, south of the equator, who have achieved independence or other self-government during the decolonization in former British, Australian, and New Zealand territories since the 1960s. Suffice it to say, though, that the new Micronesian entities are envied by their island cousins to the south for the affluence afforded by federal grants under free or close association with America. At the same time, however, doubts about the sovereignty claimed by Micronesians are not easily dispelled, for US strategic interests continue to dominate the scene. A more important concern is the considerable economic dependency that has been engendered in the Micronesian states, where productive resources are scarce. But even in the island states to the south, a viable life-style continues to be notably dependent on various kinds of foreign aid provided by interested metropolitan powers.

PART I

America's Trust in Postwar Micronesia

Micronesians Recover from World War II

My first encounter with a Micronesian people, the Marshall Islanders, was in April 1946 when I lived among them for five months as a researcher with the Economic Survey of Micronesia, conducted by the United States Commercial Company (USCC) to assist the US naval military government in its responsibility for administering the islands (Oliver 1951). The war had ended seven months earlier with Japan's surrender. My previous knowledge about the Marshallese and other Micronesians was based on intelligence work with the US war effort and was limited to reports and publications from Japanese and German sources dating back to the late 1800s.

In the early months of my 1946 fieldwork I lived on Kwajalein Atoll. The main island was then being used by the US Navy as a support facility for military air traffic between Hawaii and Guam. About four hundred Marshallese, recruited from the outer islands, lived near the air-

strip in the Kwajalein Labor Camp, working on short-term contracts as maintenance personnel. At that time no Marshallese lived on nearby Ebeye Island, where the USCC agent resided and directed trade operations with communities on the outlying atolls. I myself lived in a tent on Ebeye and came to know the few Marshallese who worked for USCC, and also the Navy personnel in the seaplane squadron based there in support of the atomic weapons test program on Bikini Atoll, about two hundred miles north.

My first contact with the Bikini Marshallese was on Rongerik Atoll, where they had been resettled from Bikini by the US Navy a month or two earlier (Mason 1950). I had hitched a ride on a logistics flight from Ebeye to Rongerik and Bikini. Other islands that I came to know throughout the Marshalls in the ensuing months were visited by Navy sea and air transport and by Marshallese sailboats and outrigger sailing canoes. On these visits I worked closely with Marshallese interpreters as I attempted to learn what I could about economic conditions prevailing in the immediate postwar period. All trade and ship transport had come to a complete stop during the war years. The copra industry was now barely being restored and handicraft production for sale to servicemen on Kwajalein Island provided the main source of cash other than that from employment in the Navy's administration centers on Kwajalein and Majuro. Of necessity, the subsistence economy had been revived to some extent in the outer islands.

In 1950 I was to learn much more about the postwar situation in all aspects of Micronesian society when I traveled for a month from one district center to another (Majuro, Kwajalein, Ponape, Truk, Yap, Koror, and Saipan) as a member of the Management Survey of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) government, conducted by the US Department of the Interior. Following the 1947 proclamation of the UN Trust Territory, the US Navy had continued in control of the occupied islands but changed its administrative structure from a military government to a civilian administration. In mid-1951, by executive order of the US president, the Interior Department would take over that responsibility.

Our four-man survey team reviewed Navy accomplishments in encouraging a system of municipal government, extending elementary and intermediate education throughout the TTPI, and establishing a network of district hospitals and outer-island dispensaries. We made recommendations in other areas as well, including administrative structures and personnel, economic development, interisland shipping and

communication, and traditional organization and cultural resource concerns (Taylor et al. 1951).

In 1950 the US Navy had moved the Marshallese labor corps from Kwajalein Island to adjacent Ebeye Island, constructing housing and providing daily boat transport between the two islands for the commuting laborers. Two years earlier the Bikinians had been resettled again, to Kili Island in the southern Marshalls, after a disastrous experience trying to support themselves on Rongerik Atoll. And, in 1947, the entire community of Enewetak Atoll had been forcibly removed to Ujelang Atoll to make way for additional testing of nuclear weapons, which still continued on Bikini Atoll.

In the course of the Management Survey we observed the operation of district legislatures, which brought together representatives from elected municipal councils. The first legislature, formed with aid from the Navy administration, was convened in Majuro in 1950. Koror, in the Palau District, had been the administrative capital of the entire Japanese-mandated area between the two world wars. When we met with the Palauan Council in Koror we gained an appreciation for the linguistic problems that existed in the region. We found that its members knew almost no English but were quite fluent in Japanese. We had to resort to aid from a nisei from Hawaii to translate our questions to the Palauan councillors into Japanese. They then discussed the issues among themselves in Palauan and finally answered in Japanese through the interpreter. In the Marshalls and in Ponape and Truk, where American missionaries had operated schools from the 1850s, sufficient numbers of local officials could communicate with us in English. After an experimental year on Guam, the US naval administration's Pacific Islands Teacher Training School (PITTS) was transferred in 1948 to Truk, to further improve instruction in the territory's schools, including facility with the English language. Eventually, English replaced Japanese as the lingua franca for American Micronesia.

The 1950s—Cultural Conservation or Cultural Imperialism?

During the first decade after the change of TTPI administration in 1951 from the Navy to the Interior Department, little control was evident from the headquarters in Washington. The presidentially appointed high commissioner of the Trust Territory and his staff had virtual autonomy. Considerable freedom was given to district and department heads in development of programs. Also, there was very little money to spend,

the TTPI budget averaging about US\$6 million annually during this period. Some observers have charged that the US government followed an "ethnological zoo" policy, whereby economic development was held to a minimum in order to protect and conserve Micronesian cultures. In fact, no conscious plan existed. Events during this time were influenced largely by the individual personalities and values of the American administrators.

The differences in language, culture, and colonial history among the eight or ten Micronesian ethnic groups were as important then as they proved to be in the 1970s and 1980s when political fragmentation of the TTPI shattered any dream that regional unity might be preserved. I have tried to document these differences (Marshallese, Kosraen, Pohnpeian, Trukese, Belauan, Yapese, and Chamorro, for example) in an article on the ethnology of Micronesia (Mason 1968). In another article, I have written about the "many faces" of Micronesia that resulted from the concentration of services in the district centers, which led to an increasing migration of outer-island Micronesians to the developing urban sites (Mason 1975). This migration began in the 1950s and became the basis for adopting a Western cultural orientation that threatened the perpetuation of their traditional heritages.

Two American administrators stand out in my recollection of programs developed to resolve the dilemma of cultural conservation versus cultural imperialism after the Interior Department took over in 1951. One was Dr. Robert E. Gibson, the first director of education, who served from 1951 to 1964. The other was Dr. Homer G. Barnett, staff anthropologist in the first term of the Interior administration. Both men had the high commissioner's support in their attempts to create programs that met the needs of Micronesians in each district. Although they followed general policies inherited from the Navy in the areas of education and political organization, they developed new strategies.

Gibson began his tenure with a system of elementary and intermediate schools, grades one through nine, and the teacher training program (PITTS) in Truk. American educators were in charge of the intermediate schools and PITTS, while Micronesians served as school principals and teachers at the elementary level. Gibson, working with his district educational administrators, gave a more island-oriented emphasis to the curriculum. Instruction in the first four grades was conducted only in the vernacular, after which English was taught as a second language. He encouraged involvement of local communities in program development and support. Elementary teachers were paid from local taxes. More teaching materials were prepared that related to local custom.

PITTS was reorganized as the Pacific Islands Central School (PICS) and served as the only public secondary school in Micronesia. The other principal secondary facility was Xavier High School, maintained by the Catholic diocese. Some graduates from PICS and Xavier were able to go on to tertiary institutions in Guam, Hawaii, and the Philippines. In sum, Gibson's efforts in Micronesian educational development were his answer to the dilemma of "education for what?" He built from a cultural and community base in the lower grades and provided opportunity in the higher grades for those few students who chose to learn more about the world beyond the district center (Gibson 1959; Peacock 1985).

Like Gibson, Homer Barnett inherited a program initiated by the Navy administration in its final years. A cadre of American anthropologists had been appointed at both staff and district levels. In 1951, when Barnett took on the staff anthropologist post for two years while on leave from the University of Oregon, he directed the work of the anthropologists at the district level, most of whom were carryovers from the Navy period. Their duties were more research-oriented than administrative. They served as intermediaries between the Micronesians and the government. As experts on local custom they made recommendations to either assist or caution the administrators on particular courses of action, especially in political and economic affairs. Some district anthropologists were won over to the Micronesians' side by their academic interests in cultural conservation. This apparent bias in their recommendations sometimes resulted in rejection of their advice by district administrators. By the mid-1950s, as the administrators gained knowledge of local tradition, they felt they no longer needed the research function of the anthropologists, and many of those posts were phased out or left unfilled as the incumbents returned to academia. However, Barnett's example of pursuing anthropological inquiry relating to practical questions facing the administration was influential. Micronesians were eventually to benefit from an increasing awareness of the dilemma posed by the ever-present confrontation of Micronesian identity by the imposition of Western values (Barnett 1956; Mason 1985).

The 1960s—The US Government Moves to Americanize the Islands

A portent of the changes ahead came upon the transfer of PICS in 1959 from Truk to Ponape, where the high commissioner decreed a more American curriculum in this sole public high school in the TTPI. At PICS the cultural backgrounds of the students were now minimized and

a basis for Micronesian unity was created by a common educational experience. In early 1961 the Kennedy administration took over from the Republicans in Washington, and a new era in TTPI policies was launched from the nation's capital. The UN Trusteeship Council in mid-1961 released the findings of its first visiting mission to Micronesia since 1947. The report was very critical of the United States as trustee, citing delay in economic development and negligence in preparing the islanders for self-government. In that year Kennedy had established the US Peace Corps to export humanitarian service by sending volunteers overseas, but Micronesia was excluded from the program as not being a "foreign" country; not until 1966 was this decision changed to allow Peace Corps representatives to serve in the trust area.

In 1962 the territory's annual budget of \$7.5 million was increased by the US Congress to \$17.5 million to support more aggressive changes in the islands. By 1970 that figure had escalated to \$50 million. In Washington an interagency task force was formed to coordinate departmental programs for Micronesia. A survey team was recruited, headed by Anthony Solomon, business administration professor at Harvard University. The mission was directed to identify island needs that could be alleviated by program funding to persuade islanders to accept a more permanent association with the United States, which had long-term security and defense interests in the region. The survey group visited all six districts in mid-1963 and submitted its report only weeks before President Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963. The Solomon report recommended further political and economic development and identified education as the prime medium for creating a more American identity among the people (Gale 1979). There is no evidence, however, that the Solomon report was ever implemented as a grand plan for the Americanization of Micronesians. During the succeeding Johnson administration, some parts of the report were reflected in departmental programs whose authors had already espoused such courses of action to bring the islanders into the US security net (Nevin 1977).

An accelerated education program, begun in 1962, emphasized the teaching of English as a second language and universal education through the eighth grade. A four-year construction effort added over four hundred elementary school classrooms throughout the territory. In the same period, American short-term contract teachers were recruited in a crash program to enhance the instruction of English on the outlying islands as well as in the district centers. In 1962, PICS on Ponape had been replaced by four-year high schools in five of the TTPI district centers. By 1965, the same level of education was available in Yap, Ulithi,

and Kusaie (now called Kosrae). This centralization of secondary schooling in the urban centers made it possible to accept more eighth-grade graduates, but still fell far short of accommodating the number of students desiring to continue in high school. Micronesians teaching grades nine through twelve badly needed more education themselves, and in 1962 the Micronesian Teacher Education Center (MTEC) was established on the old PICS site in Ponape, to upgrade instructors in teaching methods and remedial high school education.

The centralization of secondary education in the district centers also contributed to an increasing migration of outer islanders to the urbanized centers. High schools were commonly boarding institutions, or students were accompanied by their families, adding to the already crowded populations. The new policy received support from a 1965 economic planning study commissioned by the TTPI administration. The report viewed the rise of the urban centers with favor and recommended that the full range of government services be limited to these centers and that the outer islands be given only minimal services as a cost-effective strategy. It urged vocational education in the high schools to increase the number and the competency of the labor force needed for full economic capability in Micronesia (Nathan Associates 1967). Tertiary education for high school graduates was possible with the aid of scholarship programs by the government, district legislatures, religious bodies, and others, which would prepare the recipients to take jobs in specialized and professional areas of TTPI administration. By the end of the decade, nearly five hundred students were enrolled in tertiary institutions, primarily in Guam, Hawaii, and the US mainland.

A Peace Corps/Micronesia program, originally proposed in 1962 and reiterated in the 1963 Solomon report, was finally approved by Washington officials and by Micronesian legislatures in early 1966. The recruitment campaign stressed the desire to do "good" through the personal contributions of service by young Americans in educational, health, and economic programs for Micronesians. Nearly four hundred volunteers arrived in the TTPI in October 1966, after training in Florida and Hawaii in vernacular languages, teaching of English as a second language (TESL), and public health care. By 1968, there were over nine hundred volunteers in the field in this crash program, about one to every hundred Micronesians. Almost every island had its own volunteer. Peace Corps radio equipment provided valuable assistance in the outer islands through two-way communication with district center agencies.

Most Peace Corps volunteers were well received by the Micronesian people and many became spokesmen and champions for the cultural

entities they came to identify with. By the early 1970s, when their number had stabilized at two to three hundred, more than 15 percent of the expatriate TTPI staffers were former Peace Corps volunteers who liked the islands well enough to continue their association. Many of them married Micronesians. The outer islands benefited as much as, or even more than, the district centers, owing to their increased visibility through Peace Corps activity. Micronesians in general had gained a new advocacy for their resistance to Americanization policies. At the same time the corps' contribution to education and local learning of English enabled more Micronesians to qualify for government jobs, indirectly moving them closer to accepting a formal association with the United States that provided job funding (Severance 1985).

As early as 1956, the TTPI high commissioner had convened an inter-district conference of Micronesian leaders to more fully inform them of the administration's objectives and to gain a better awareness of district and local needs. The Micronesians saw this as a means to join forces to advocate action on their territorial problems. In 1958 they named their group the Inter-District Advisory Committee to the High Commissioner and in 1961 renamed it the Council of Micronesia. As a formal parliamentary body, they chose Dwight Heine as their chairman. He had already distinguished himself as president of the Marshall Islands Congress and had been the first Micronesian to pursue a college career (in Hawaii in 1949). Finally, in 1964, the council recommended and the US Interior secretary ordered the creation of the Congress of Micronesia (Meller 1969).

The first session opened in July 1965. Both houses joined in a resolution to rename the House of Delegates as the Senate and the General Assembly as the House of Representatives, as in the US Congress. Tosiwo Nakayama of Truk was elected Senate president. Dwight Heine was named speaker of the House; however, he resigned in October to become the first Micronesian to be a district administrator and Ekpap Silk of the Marshalls replaced him. Amata Kabua, one of the two senators from the Marshalls, was later elected president of that body in 1969.

Congressional business, of necessity, was conducted in English. Most members were relatively young, college educated, less respectful than their elders of traditional authority in their own districts, and more ready as a new generation to engage in confrontational exchanges among themselves as well as with the high commissioner and his staff. An east-west split among the district representatives had already surfaced. The eastern group controlled all of the top posts in the two houses at the start. Here, then, the seed was sown that would grow in the 1970s

to a forthright expression by Micronesians of their political aspirations. A seeking of unity within the territory and a recognition of fiscal dependence on the US treasury were at odds with an undercurrent of interdistrict disagreement and a general opposition to any political takeover by the United States.

In August 1967 the Congress of Micronesia established the Future Political Status Commission to explore options available to Micronesians for a greater degree of self-government as decreed by the UN charter. Six congressmen from the six districts then spent two years researching the experience of other Pacific Island states in adopting self-government or independence. In July 1969 the commission recommended that the Congress negotiate with the US government for some form of free association that guaranteed indigenous control of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of its authority or, failing that, choose independence as the only other realistic alternative. In response the Congress created the Micronesian Political Status Delegation, co-chaired by Lazarus Salii of Palau and Ekpap Silk of the Marshalls, to negotiate with the US executive branch. The first round of talks was held in Washington in September 1969 with officials from the US State, Defense, and Interior departments. The delegation presented eleven topics for informal discussion, including federal services, war claims, foreign affairs, financial aid, and a constitution for Micronesia.

The 1970s—Separatist Forces in Micronesia Explode the Myth of Unity

To understand the changes that occurred in the 1970s is to recall the wide range of opposing cultural identities among Micronesians, rooted in ecology, tradition, and colonial history. Their feeling about themselves as groups distinct one from the other is a reality that diminishes the meaning of the term "Micronesian."

The ecology of the "high" islands (Marianas, Yap, and Palau in the west, and Truk, Ponape, and Kusaie [Kosrae] in the east) offers an advantage in natural resources that is not available on the "low" islands or atolls (in the central and eastern Carolines and the Marshalls). Inhabitants of the first category are *land*-oriented in their subsistence economy whereas those of the second category are *sea*-oriented. The languages of the westernmost islands (Belauan, Yapese, and Chamorro in the Marianas) are aligned historically with the speech of Filipinos and Indonesians, while those in the central and easternmost islands (Ulithian, Trukese, Pohnpeian, Kosraen, and Marshallese) are more

closely related to eastern Melanesian and Polynesian languages. In any case, all of the languages noted are mutually unintelligible.

Other aspects of culture and society vary just as much—in family and clan organization, village structure, land tenure, class distinctions, political authority, religion, and the arts. In general, populations in the high islands are larger and support more complex sociopolitical systems. Finally, the vagaries of history—the Spanish domination of the Marianas before 1898, the trade and land policies of the Germans in the Carolines and the Marshalls until 1914, the colonization of the northern Marianas and Palau by Japanese immigrants in the 1920s and 1930s, and the strategic interests of the US military in Palau, Tinian, and the Marshalls (Bikini, Enewetak, and Kwajalein)—have in varying combinations altered the precontact ethnicity of Micronesian groups and their views of the world beyond their shores (Mason 1974). Each cultural entity, whether in the urban center or in the rural outer islands, has serious questions about what the future offers in the quality of life and the nature of relationships within Micronesia and with nations in the Asia-Pacific sphere.

In the second round of political status talks, on Saipan in May 1970, the Americans proposed a commonwealth association similar to that linking Puerto Rico to the United States. The Micronesians rejected this outright, as not assuring sufficient local autonomy. The island delegation, in its report to the Congress, urged adoption of four nonnegotiable rights in any compact with the United States. These rights, considered essential for the viability of a future Micronesian state, were sovereignty, self-determination, a Micronesian constitution, and unilateral termination of any compact if either party wished. The Congress agreed and enlarged the delegation to a more permanent Joint Committee on Future Status to continue negotiations as long as needed. Sali and Silk were retained as co-chairmen. President Nixon, in early 1971, appointed F. Haydn Williams as his personal representative with the rank of ambassador to lead the US delegation. An Office for Micronesian Status Negotiations was set up in Washington. Four more rounds of talks were held between October 1971 and September 1972 in Hawaii, Palau, Washington, and again Hawaii. It was at this time that separatist demands surfaced from the Marianas, Marshalls, and Palau.

As early as the 1950s, the Marianas District Legislature had considered some type of permanent association with the United States. Once it had become obvious that the other five districts were not of this mind, a formal request was made to Ambassador Williams in April 1972 to begin separate negotiations. In May the Marianas legislature estab-

lished its own Political Status Commission. A second dissenting voice was heard in February 1972 when the Marshalls proposed to the Congress of Micronesia that each district should have the right to negotiate its future status separately with the United States. The issue here was economic. The Marshallese resented contribution of all tax proceeds to the Congress—its income tax revenue alone, mainly from Marshallese and American workers at the Kwajalein missile range, was more than that of the other five districts combined. The Congress rejected the proposal. In April 1973 the Marshalls legislature formed its own Political Status Commission to seek separate negotiations with the US delegation. Almost immediately Palau followed suit, establishing a Select Committee on Political and Economic Development to study the issues involved in future status. The US government had earlier noted its desire to lease certain Palauan lands for military use. But, first, the Palauans wanted to have all “public lands” (taken from them by foreign governments in pre-World War II years) returned to their rightful owners before Palau would negotiate a compact that included a land-lease arrangement for the US military. It should be noted that both Salii of Palau and Silk of the Marshalls, as co-chairmen of the Joint Committee of the Congress, pleaded with their own constituents to delay any further separatist action until the draft of the planned compact was completed, hopefully by the end of 1973.

In the Marianas, after some delay, the US delegation headed by Ambassador Williams recognized the Political Status Commission established by the legislature in May 1972. Five negotiating sessions were held on Saipan between December 1972 and February 1975, when agreement was finally reached on the “Covenant Establishing a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands [CNMI] in Political Union with the United States.” In a referendum held in June, 79 percent of the electorate voted in favor of the covenant. The US Congress and President Ford approved it in March 1976. Seven months later a constitutional convention was convened on Saipan and a draft was approved by a majority of the delegates in December. A constitutional referendum was held in March 1977 with favorable results. President Carter gave his approval in October, and a new government was elected in December. The constitution was designed to conform with the covenant. Most of its provisions were put into effect when the new CNMI government was formally installed in January 1978. However, it was understood that the CNMI technically would remain as part of the TTPI until the trusteeship agreement could be terminated for all of the territory (McPhetres 1983).

While Ambassador Williams was negotiating the Marianas covenant, he met several times with the Joint Committee on Future Status of the Congress of Micronesia in attempts to resolve issues posed in the drafting of the compact of free association. By then, the US delegation had accepted the statement of basic rights presented in 1970 by the Micronesian Political Status Commission. In the years between 1972 and 1975, the Congress was plagued by its own problems associated with the continued separatist threats by Palau and the Marshalls. Williams held firm in his refusal to negotiate separately with these two districts, hoping that political unity of the five districts remaining after the withdrawal of the Marianas could be realized in the compact. In Washington, meanwhile, President Nixon had resigned and Gerald Ford finished out Nixon's term through 1976. In the eighth round of negotiations since 1969, Williams and the Joint Committee finally succeeded in producing a draft compact that was initialed by both sides in June 1976. Shortly thereafter Williams resigned and was succeeded by his deputy, Ambassador Philip Manhard. In Micronesia, the Congress replaced the Joint Committee with a new Commission on Future Political Status and Transition to work with the US Office for Micronesian Status Negotiations toward finalizing the compact (US Department of State 1972-1976).

In July 1975, a year earlier, the Congress had convened a constitutional convention on Saipan. Elected delegates from each of the districts and traditional chiefs from the Carolines worked together, debating one issue after the other, until they succeeded in November in completing a draft constitution for the Federated States of Micronesia. The document provided for a unified national government in which the rights of member states in the Carolines and the Marshalls were recognized and traditional authority and cultural diversity were respected. A unicameral congress would be elected on a mixed basis of state equality and population size. A president and vice-president would be elected from the congress by a majority vote of that body. A judiciary would include a supreme court and lesser courts at state and local levels. A vigorous program of education for self-government was planned to explain the constitution to all Micronesians in the districts.

Ratification of the constitution (a referendum was planned for 1977) would require a majority approval in two-thirds of the districts. If Palau and the Marshalls voted "no" as was expected, the draft was doomed. Ponape, Truk, and Yap would not meet the requirement of four districts to ratify. Kusaie Island, part of Ponape District, had for some time asked to become a separate district in its own right. With the

TTPI high commissioner's approval in March 1976, Kusaie was granted equal status and was legally established as Kosrae District in January 1977. When the constitutional referendum was finally held in July 1978 in all six districts, the outcome was as expected. Palau and the Marshalls voted "no" but Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae all voted "yes." The Federated States of Micronesia, as a new government, had been launched in those four states (Meller 1985). The Congress of Micronesia, which had moved its operational base from Saipan to Ponape back in mid-1977, was dissolved after the 1978 constitutional referendum.

Meantime, while the road to passage of the draft constitution was being paved, Ambassador Manhard scheduled "round-table" talks in May 1977 in Honolulu and again in July on Guam, with the status commissions from the Marshalls, Palau, and the still-functioning Congress of Micronesia. In Palau (September 1976) and in the Marshalls (July 1977), referenda had been held in which the voters favored separation from the rest of Micronesia and separate negotiations with the United States. In August 1977 the Marshallese conducted their own constitutional convention as evidence of their political stance. The US delegation, during the Guam talks, proposed a new "two-tier" approach in which the special demands of each commission would be considered while negotiating with Micronesians generally on issues of universal concern. In this first year of his administration, President Carter was determined to end the trusteeship by 1981. In August 1977 his personal representative in the status discussions, Peter Rosenblatt, was confirmed by the US Senate. When Rosenblatt toured Micronesia in September, he stressed the goal of free association to be achieved through multilateral and bilateral negotiations in the months ahead.

Formal talks were resumed in October 1977 and culminated in April 1978 at Hilo, Hawaii, in an agreement on eight principles defining the meaning of free association with the United States. Included were full internal self-government, freedom in foreign affairs, unilateral termination, compatibility of Micronesian constitutions with the compact, US security and defense responsibilities, and US economic assistance. The drafting of appropriate language in the compact to accord with those principles was delayed until after the FSM constitutional referendum was held in July 1978. Bilateral meetings with the three status commissions were then scheduled to plan the transition to some form of self-government and thence to free association and the termination of UN trusteeship.

In 1979 events moved rapidly in Micronesia at the district level. We have already seen that a draft constitution for the Federated States of

Micronesia was approved by the required majority of four districts (Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae) in the 1978 referendum. Election of senators to the FSM Congress took place in March 1979, and the new government was inaugurated in May at the capital in Ponape. Trukese Senator Tosiwo Nakayama was elected the federation's first president. In the Marshall Islands, work had been completed on a draft constitution for a parliamentary form of government. It was approved in a referendum in March 1979. Members of the parliament (the Nitijela) were elected in April, and the new government was installed in May at the capital in Majuro under President Amata Kabua. In Palau, after months of bitter factional debate, a draft was produced at the constitutional convention that in some respects was inconsistent with terms of the proposed compact as espoused by the US delegation. Nevertheless, the draft was approved in a July referendum. But resistance continued in the Palau legislature, most of whose members supported the US position, and a revised draft was sent to the voters in October. It was rejected. The original draft was resubmitted to Palauans in July 1980 and passed again, by an overwhelming majority. A general election was held in November for members of the bicameral legislature (the Olbiil Era Kelulau) and for the executive leadership. The new president was Haruo Remeliik, former constitutional convention head and a strong supporter of the constitution. Inauguration of the new Republic of Palau occurred in January 1981 at its capital on Koror Island (Crocombe and Ali 1983).

*The 1980s—Four Governments Negotiate a Compact
of Free Association*

With the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands now firmly on course in its covenant of close association with the United States, it remained for the US government to wrap up its deliberations with the Government of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of Palau in a compact of free association with the United States. Ambassador Rosenblatt spent the final three years of the Carter administration in talks with the three island delegations, both multilaterally and bilaterally, to resolve general issues in the compact itself and to draft subsidiary agreements to meet the special demands of the new governments. By November 1980 all documents had been initialed by Rosenblatt and the three delegations. The next step would be to place the results before the voters in separate plebiscites. But President Carter was not to realize his goal to end the trusteeship by 1981. In

the US elections that fall Ronald Reagan was declared victor and the presidency would be returned to Republican control. The final phase of the status negotiations was about to begin.

The new administration in Washington decided to review the policies on which the compact and subsidiary agreements had been negotiated. An Interdepartmental Group was formed with representatives from more than twenty US departments and agencies with interests in Micronesia and the US Congress. For six months the group labored, and in October the compact negotiations were resumed on Maui in Hawaii. Former Interior Department official Fred Zeder took over the reins as ambassador and head of the US delegation. Conclusions of the policy review group, presented at the Maui meeting, favored the prompt termination of trusteeship and approval of the free association principle. It was noted that many details in the subsidiary agreements remained to be worked out in multilateral and bilateral discussions. A US-funded political education program was to be developed by political leaders in each jurisdiction for the benefit of voters in plebiscites that would follow. Then formal approval by the Micronesian legislatures and the US Congress would be necessary before the final documents were forwarded to the United Nations to end the trust relationship.

During the twelve months following the Maui discussions, Ambassador Zeder met frequently with the three delegations to clarify certain technical matters. The new constitutional governments moved quickly to consolidate their internal structures, specifically, to develop constitutions for the four member states of the FSM and for the sixteen states in Palau. In the Marshalls, charters were drawn up by twenty-six local governments as authorized by the Nitijela in 1980. At the same time the governments worked to achieve cooperative arrangements with a number of regional and international organizations, thus validating their new independence in foreign affairs. At TTPI headquarters on Saipan, a reduction in personnel was initiated as responsibilities began to be transferred to the three national entities.

By October 1982 the US representative and each of the three Micronesian negotiators had signified their approval of the draft compact and its related subsidiary agreements. UN-observed plebiscites in the three territories followed in 1983. In the Marshalls, a 60 percent majority was achieved despite opposition from dissenting groups that had urged independence as an alternative. In the FSM, a 79 percent majority prevailed overall, though Ponape State rejected the compact by a 51 to 49 percent vote. (Ponapeans officially changed the spelling to "Pohnpei State" when the state constitution was ratified in September

1984.) In Palau, a 61 percent majority left the contest unresolved, for the Palauan constitution required approval by 75 percent of the voters to negate a ban on the introduction of nuclear materials, including passage or port visits by nuclear-armed or nuclear-powered warships.

The status documents for the FSM and the Marshalls were approved by their respective legislatures later in 1983 and forwarded to Washington for final action by the US government. In the US House of Representatives, the review process was prolonged by months of heated debate that resulted in a series of amendments to the compact, relating to trade and taxation issues that would cater to American interests. These changes were vigorously opposed by the FSM and Marshall Islands governments; their representatives went to Washington time and again to argue for retention of the compact in its original form as approved in the Micronesian plebiscites. In the Republic of Palau, more negotiations and referenda were undertaken in a vain attempt to resolve the inconsistencies between the Palauan constitution and the draft compact.

Each of the presidents of the negotiating island governments was returned to office for a second four-year term—Amata Kabua of the Marshall Islands and Tosiwo Nakayama of the FSM, both in 1983; and Haruo Remeliik of Palau in 1984. In the United States, Ronald Reagan was inaugurated to a second term in January 1985 as the nation's chief of state. But tragedy struck in Koror on 30 June 1985 when President Remeliik was shot to death in the driveway of his home. Motive for the assassination is still a mystery. He was briefly succeeded by Vice-President Alfonso Oiterong. In an election held in August, Lazarus Salii, who had been Palau's principal negotiator on the compact, was named as the new president of Palau. Thomas Remengesau, who had served as the district administrator of Palau in the earlier TTPI years, was elected vice-president.

At long last, in 1985, the US Congress and the chief negotiators in the Marshalls and the FSM agreed on a compromise version of the compact, and in January 1986 President Reagan signed the congressional action into law. The UN Trusteeship Council, in May, approved the actions of the US administration in moving the trust islands toward self-government and urged all parties to proceed in implementing the new status agreements at an early date. Following formal approval by the two Micronesian governments, Reagan proclaimed on 3 November 1986 that they and the Northern Marianas commonwealth were no longer subject to trusteeship. The president so notified the United Nations and

his letter was circulated as an official document of the UN Security Council.

Approval of commonwealth status gave the Northern Marianas' people full US citizenship and self-government, as provided for in their constitution and the covenant. The Marshall Islands and the FSM, according to the Compact of Free Association, were granted not only self-government but also a status of sovereign statehood, including the freedom to engage in foreign affairs. The compact was terminable by either or both parties. It obligated the US government to give economic assistance for the fifteen-year life of the agreement (renegotiable for a second fifteen years) and to be responsible for the security and defense of the island states.

As of October 1988 the Republic of Palau had conducted several more plebiscites on the compact, none of which achieved the 75 percent majority required by its constitution. A special referendum was also held to amend the constitution so that a simple majority vote would be acceptable. That resulted in approval by nearly three to one, but the action was later challenged by some Palauans as not in accord with constitutional process, and the Palau Supreme Court agreed. To date, Palau continues to be administered by the US government under the UN trusteeship agreement (US Department of State 1980-1987).

President Kabua in the Marshalls was reelected in late 1987 to a third four-year term. In the FSM, President Nakayama retired in 1987 after completing his second four-year term, as required by the constitution. John Haglelgam, senator from the outer islands in Yap State, was elected as Nakayama's successor in mid-1987. In Palau, tragedy struck a second time at the presidential level. Lazarus Salii, who was approaching reelection in November 1988, shot himself on 20 August in his home, a suicide, possibly overcome by the unbearable weight of so many undecided domestic issues, both economic and political. Thomas Remengesau, his vice-president, was named to serve the remainder of Salii's term. Along with six other Palauans, Remengesau contested the presidency in the November election. All pledged their support for free association with the United States although their political preferences varied greatly on domestic matters. The winner was Ngiratkel Etpison, a businessman making his first bid for national office. A 75 percent majority is still needed to override the constitutional ban on nuclear materials when the next plebiscite is held.

As a footnote, sadly, only seventeen days after Salii's death, his former co-chairman of the old Congress of Micronesia's political status delega-

tion, Ekpap Silk of the Marshall Islands, died quite unexpectedly of a heart attack in Majuro, where he had retired a year earlier as senator in the Nitijela.

Retrospective

In the preceding summary of events from 1944 to 1988, I have tried to characterize the changing relationships between Micronesians and the US government and also, more importantly, among Micronesians themselves in their expressed concerns about the political, economic, and cultural future of their islands. We have reviewed the US naval administration's efforts to rehabilitate the islands after the defeat of Japan's occupation forces during World War II, and the well-meaning introduction of democratic government, improved health care, and expansion of public education. The United Nations in 1947 agreed to a trusteeship arrangement with the United States as the administering authority. When the US Department of the Interior took over the responsibility for administering the trust area in 1951, policies instituted by the Navy changed very little. The new high commissioner, working with a small annual budget, gave commendable attention to Micronesia's cultural diversity and Micronesian desires for conservation of their traditional values and identities.

Then, in the 1960s, the mood changed in the US capital and new programs, funded by a rapidly escalating budget, were instituted to win over the islanders to acceptance of a more permanent tie with the United States. The Congress of Micronesia became the kingpin of a mutual goal to establish a unitary political entity in association with the United States. But this was not destined to be, for separatist forces within Micronesia during the next decade rejected the unity concept as embodied in the draft constitution for a Federated States of Micronesia. By the end of the 1970s, four fledgling governments had emerged in the course of negotiations with the US government. In the Northern Marianas a covenant provided for a close association with the United States, while a draft compact would establish a status of free association for the Marshalls, the four-state FSM, and Palau. The 1980s have seen approval and implementation of the compact in the Marshalls and the FSM, although delays have prevented final agreement in Palau owing to a constitutional conflict, which—hopefully—will be resolved in 1989. The US president, by proclamation in 1986, unilaterally declared the trusteeship as ended, except in Palau.

In writing this article, I have depended on published sources to refresh my memory on dates, places, and persons involved in the status negotiations. Especially useful are the US annual reports to the UN Trusteeship Council (US Department of State 1972–1987). More than any other person, Norman Meller has worked with and written about constitutionalism in Micronesia (1969, 1985). Two collections of articles on Micronesian politics, published by the University of the South Pacific's Institute of Pacific Studies, are indispensable for understanding the internal dynamics of political change in each of the several parts of Micronesia, including Guam (Crocombe and Ali 1983; Crocombe et al. 1988).

However, as I look back on the political and cultural changes that have taken place since my first visit to the islands in 1946, I find that I depend a great deal more on my personal knowledge gained from twenty-three trips to the TTPI and Guam over a forty-three-year period and from my personal contacts with both Micronesians and Americans who contributed to those changes. My acquaintance with Americans in the administration dates back to the Navy period. From that time, I have personally known all of the TTPI high commissioners and many of the headquarters staff as that office moved from Honolulu to Guam and finally to Saipan. I also had frequent contacts with both Americans and Micronesians at the district level in education, health, community affairs, land and resources, and social services. Many of the Micronesians had been my students at the University of Hawaii, which I joined in 1947.

In 1969, the same year that the US–Micronesian negotiations on future status got under way, I took early retirement from the university in order to apply my research experience to investigating the problems of contemporary change in the islands. Most of my previous fieldwork had been in the Marshalls, and I continued that interest, but I became better acquainted with the other districts as my travels took in all of the TTPI. Since 1971 I have averaged about one trip every year to some or all of the urban centers in Micronesia, on consulting assignments in education, resettlement, land rights, youth and elderly affairs, and administrative change. I kept abreast of the political status talks through my personal ties with the chief Micronesian negotiators and with the US representatives in meetings in Honolulu, Guam, and Washington. In New York, I knew several UN Trusteeship Council staff members who regularly accompanied UN visiting missions to Micronesia. Presidents Kabua, Nakayama, Salii, Remengesau, and Haglelgam were friends I

had first known from their years of college study in Hawaii. Dwight Heine of the Marshalls I had worked with on my first field trip to his islands in 1946. Another old friend, Ekpap Silk, lunched with me in Majuro in August 1988, shortly before his death, and we talked about the island politics in which he had made a name for himself over the years. The old-timers who engineered the course of Micronesian politics over nearly half a century are now yielding their place to a younger generation of Micronesians, like President John Haglelgam of the FSM, and a new chapter in island history is being written.

While reviewing the relentless change in political status (I hesitate to call this political "development") over the past four decades, I have focused mainly on the formal relationships of Micronesian entities to each other and to the US government. Little have I touched on the internal or domestic adaptations that the island populations have had to make during the same period. Of course, long before the end of World War II, Micronesians had already departed in varying degrees from their traditional ways of living in their use of local resources, in their systems of family and community organization, in their exercise of land rights and chiefly authority, in the enculturation of their children, in their respect for supernatural forces, and in their views of themselves as small, culturally distinctive isolates. But, despite the impact of foreign traders, proselyting missionaries, colonial reformists, and the destruction and dislocation suffered during the war, the basic imperatives of their traditional societies have survived remarkably intact.

To understand the complexities of island styles in the 1980s, one is well advised to look beyond the materialistic trappings of Westernized dress, food, housing, transport, and entertainment in the urban concentrations of Chamorros and Carolinians in Saipan, of Palauans in Koror, of Yapese in Colonia, of Trukese in Moen, of Pohnpeians in Kolonia, of Kosraens in Lelu, and of Marshallese in Ebeye and Majuro. Behind those facades exist non-Western systems of social perceptions and values that, in their continuing viability, can help island groups to find some resolution of their domestic needs and to confront the rest of the world with self-redeeming ethnic identities.

To examine these internal dilemmas in each of Micronesia's culturally discrete entities would take more space than is allowed in this article. In what follows, I intend to generalize for the Carolines and the Marshalls. The Northern Marianas is a case apart that demands separate analysis, for the Chamorro culture had already been decimated by Spanish impositions prior to 1898 and the Carolinian immigration in the nineteenth

century has largely been absorbed today in what may be called the Saipanese community. In recent years, since the 1978 covenant adoption, Saipan has been transformed into a tourist haven for Japanese with local landholdings leased for hotel and recreation use. It has also become an offshore base for Asian garment factories with mainly Filipino workers, resulting in a surfeit of aliens and consequent intermarriage to the point where the cultural identity of the Saipanese community is almost impossible to define.

Today's Dilemmas

In the Carolines and the Marshalls, each island population today faces common domestic issues that the people alone can solve. They are all concerned about migration to the urban centers and the consequent depletion of human resources in the rural hinterland. They need more adequate health care, more training in nutrition to better judge their consumption of imported foods, and more attention to family planning to offset the frightening increase in population. The elderly despair about the loss of respect for their advanced years and their accumulated wisdom and experience. Youth wander aimlessly in the towns with little to occupy themselves and nowhere to spend their time, many ending up as barflies, runaways, and delinquents. The extended family is being decimated with the rise in popularity of the values of individualism and the nuclear family. Parents and teachers alike disagree on the current worth of public (and private) school curricular models, whether these should be American-oriented or bilingual and bicultural. High school graduates who have pursued higher education overseas return home with altered behavior and personal values, unsure of how to rejoin the island communities from which they came. The basic features of traditional authority have been attacked and replaced with "democratic" systems that many feel are not at all democratic in action. Traditional literary and artistic styles have been despoiled and the mediocrity of introduced substitutes leaves many islanders unhappy. Family disputes over land and title rights have crowded the courts, where American-based legal procedures deal inadequately with matters concerning island custom.

Without a doubt the biggest single problem in the domestic sector is the excessive dependency, especially in the urban centers, on US government funding from the compact, selected federal programs, and capital improvement project aid. Micronesians increasingly seek money to pay

for the goods and services they have learned to want—imported food, beverages and tobacco, clothing, household equipment, vehicles and the fuel to operate them, housing (urban residents must rent if they immigrated from the outer islands), entertainment, and travel by ship or plane interisland or overseas. Where does this purchasing power come from? Wage employment holds first place, mostly with the government or less so in the private sector, which is consumer-oriented for the most part. Families with land to lease for government or military use are considered fortunate, as are those who receive payments for war claims or nuclear-related damages. Production of copra, fish, or handicraft brings in only moderate income. The standard of living has risen—no question of that—but a constant supply of cash is essential to support it. This fact of dependency is the Achilles' heel for urban Micronesians. Should present levels of US funding decline as US strategic interests change, these people will face a crisis. Residents in the hinterland do have a subsistence economy that is still operable and they still have the know-how to survive on that basis, but the life-styles of urban dwellers will be shattered if the money stops coming for whatever reason.

Having generalized about domestic issues for the several cultural entities in the Carolines and the Marshalls, I now want to embark in Part II of this article on an in-depth view of the Marshalls, with which I am most familiar. It so happened that in 1988 I was able to visit the area twice for about ten days each time. In March I was invited by the Bikinians to be a guest at the annual commemoration of their forced departure from their home atoll in 1946. This was in remembrance of my investigation of their plight on Rongerik Atoll in early 1948, after which the Navy relocated them to Kwajalein Island, where they decided to settle finally on Kili Island in the southern Marshalls. I spent four days with them on Kili after the formal ceremonies on the first day, to which government officials from Majuro had also been invited. I then stayed five more days on Majuro, where I interviewed a number of Marshallese to update my information on developments since my previous visit. In August I went to Majuro again, for ten days, specifically to sample local leaders' opinions on major issues, as part of an assignment from the US Information Agency in Washington with special reference to external relations of the Republic of the Marshall Islands. In the course of that research I learned much about domestic issues while talking with prominent Marshallese, including elected officials of the Nitijela, public service administrators, traditional chiefs, business leaders, church officials, educators, and members of the media, women's groups, and youth organizations. From these two trips in 1988 I gained new insights

into the contemporary affairs of the Marshallese. In Part II, I want to share these perceptions as a specific example of the concerns of one Micronesian ethnic group that has gained political independence in free association with the United States. How do these islanders view their present domestic situation and what do they expect from the years that lie ahead? What resources—for example, community organizations and forums—do they have for finding solutions to their present problems in addition to the deliberations of their elected officials in the national government?

PART II

Marshall Islanders in Crisis

General Introduction

The Marshalls archipelago consists of twenty-nine coral atolls and five single islands, none more than twenty feet above sea level. Land area is seventy square miles but lagoon area amounts to forty-three thousand square miles. Thus, land is scarce for agriculture and residence but the wealth of marine resources favors a sea orientation. The total population, almost entirely Marshallese with a single language and culture, was nearly thirty-one thousand in 1980 and rose to over forty-three thousand in 1988.

The national government was established in 1979 under its own constitution. The parliamentary system includes an elected unicameral legislature, the Nitijela. The president of the republic is elected by the Nitijela from its own membership, and he appoints the Cabinet ministers from the same body. Local government is conducted by an elected mayor and council. The judiciary follows the American legal model. Traditional authority is represented in two entities, which are advisory to the Nitijela and the High Court. Land is the indigenous basis for social identity. Rights to land are shared within a matrilineage (*bwij*), headed by an elder male (*alab*), with succession in the female line. The two-class system consists of the *iroij* (members of a chief's lineage) and the *kajur* (members of subordinate land-using *bwij* or workers on the land). Traditionally the *iroij* held absolute power over the land and the people living there even though use rights were inherited by the *kajur* lineages. The latter were expected to provide the *iroij* with goods and services. This system still survives but the *iroij* have had to moderate their demands as colonial administrations allowed the *kajur* to improve their socioeconomic status.

On the outer islands the extended-family household is the work unit, its members sharing in both production and consumption. Men fish, collect crop produce, make copra, build houses and canoes, and represent the group in community discussions. Women preside over the household, preparing daily meals, caring for the children, doing the laundry, and making handicraft for domestic or export use. Children grow up learning the skills expected of them in adulthood. Elders, both men and women, are respected for their mature years. Church attendance has become an integral part of the indigenous culture.

Life is not quite the same in the urban centers on Ebeye and Majuro. Land is dear, housing is crowded, the nuclear family prevails, law and order suffer from inadequate parental control, food and other essentials are imported, and the work ethic is based on employment in government or involvement in consumer services either as worker or entrepreneur. Electricity, water, and phone services are available. Public radio and a private weekly newspaper keep residents abreast of local and world news. Television and videotapes are popular in the home. Elsewhere, movie theaters, bars, and restaurants abound for leisure-time entertainment. Churches, Protestant and Catholic and a variety of fundamentalist sects, serve the communities' spiritual needs.

In the following discourse on domestic issues that confront Marshallese people today, it will become readily apparent that they are dramatically interrelated. Consideration of one problem, as identified in the section heading, leads immediately to the recognition of linkages with others. Attempts by the government to program a solution to a single problem have often proved ineffectual. Planning officers now recognize the need for a coordinated approach by the several ministries to a set of problems demanding attention in their respective areas of responsibility (Republic of the Marshall Islands 1987a). At the same time, people in the urban centers and on the outlying islands are seeking a larger voice in defining their needs and in the planning as well as the implementation of remedial action.

Population Explosion

The total population of the Marshall Islands, as enumerated in the November 1988 census, was 43,335, an increase of 40.4 percent since the last census in 1980 (Republic of the Marshall Islands 1988b). The annual growth rate in that period was 4.24 percent. High fertility, lowered mortality, a disproportionate number of children, and an imbalance between urban and rural populations characterize the present

demographic problem. Marshallese living in Majuro Atoll numbered 19,695, or 45.5 percent of the nation's total population. Of that number, 14,714 resided in D-U-D (Djarrit-Uliga-Dalap, three small and interconnected islets in the eastern part of Majuro Atoll where the administrative capital of the republic is located). There, the density of population was 28,831 per square mile. The other urban center, Ebeye Island, which lies next to Kwajalein Island where the US missile test facility is based, supported a Marshallese community of 8,277 on only seventy-eight acres of land, for a density of 59,121 per square mile! The rural population amounted to 15,363, or 35.5 percent of the total for the archipelago. In 1988, 51 percent of all Marshallese were aged fourteen years or younger.

Having large families was popular in traditional times, as it is now, but custom then provided for spacing of offspring by abstention from intercourse for one year after childbirth. Family planning programs of the Ministry of Health Services place emphasis on contraception and spacing, but custom is now ignored in regard to the latter. Modern means of prevention are either too costly or their promotion on television and radio is ill-received in a family audience owing to the customary taboo on discussion of sex among close kin. Large families are especially threatening in the urban centers, where living space is limited and where crowding breeds other social problems apart from the escalated requirements for housing, water supply, and sanitation. The increasing need for job opportunities by the young poses a critical concern economically as well as in public education, where more vocational training is in demand.

Economic Uncertainty

Two economic structures exist today in the islands. The traditional subsistence economy, in the rural hinterland, is based on production of land and sea resources. It has survived even though many of the old practices are neglected or forgotten. Cultivation of tree and root crops, supplemented by collection of shellfish on the reefs and fishing in the lagoon and the deep sea, guarantee a reasonable existence. Copra and handicraft production provides enough cash to buy some imported food and clothing. The commercial economy, in the urban centers, is dominated by foreign introductions. Money, in capital letters, is the key to a satisfying lifeway on Ebeye Island and in Majuro's D-U-D. All material necessities must be purchased from income earned in wage employment or from profits gained in consumer-service enterprises. A few more for-

tunate families and communities receive other income from rentals, lease of land for government use, World War II claims, and reparations for injuries or residential dislocation related to nuclear activities from 1946 to 1958, some of which were just beginning to be paid off by the US government in 1988.

Both rural and urban economies are in serious trouble at present and the future is not at all clear. In the hinterland, the coconut resource for copra production is over-age and needs replanting. The price of copra on the world market is depressed. Interisland shipping, operated by the government out of Majuro, is irregular and infrequent to the smaller and more distant atolls. The republic's planners recommend diversified agriculture, revenue-producing fisheries, and privatization of shipping, with government subsidy, to upgrade the outer-islands economy.

In the urban centers, the alarming rise in population adds hundreds of young people to the labor force each year. Jobs are just not available for them. To meet the needs of youth, who may otherwise contribute to social unrest and disorder in their frustration, plans are underway to develop small industries and tourist accommodations in order to relieve the unemployment problem in the capital. Joint ventures between government and the private sector are being urged by the Marshall Islands Development Authority. Marshallese, under terms of the compact, are now freer to migrate to the United States, and this could relieve the employment situation and promote a flow of remittances from overseas earnings to families at home. At the same time, any large-scale drain of manpower from the Marshalls could have an adverse impact on the republic's development (Gunasekara 1988).

Another aspect of the urban problem is the need for a more motivated and efficient work force, both in government and in private business. New skills required in computerization call for more attention to vocational training in the country's education program. Some employers are already talking about recruitment of skilled workers from Asian countries to meet this need. But such a move could well lead to serious social problems, as it already has in the Northern Marianas and other parts of the South Pacific. Foreign investment could be invited to provide needed capital for more industrial development, but small businesses run by Marshallese, often on a family basis, could be seriously jeopardized by such competition. The huge, escalating trade deficit is due to declining exports (90 percent is copra) and mounting imports because Marshallese are becoming more dependent on the cash economy and prefer packaged food and beverages from overseas. In 1985 exports amounted to \$2.5 million while imports were nearly \$30 million. Stra-

gies to lower the deficit include diversification of exports, substitution of imports with locally grown food, and higher taxes on luxury items (Republic of the Marshall Islands 1987a).

It must be said that money never played any part in traditional society, and many Marshallese have yet to learn how to manage their monetary affairs successfully. Those who have done so are, unfortunately, providing the basis for a new social class system—the rich and the poor. The pursuit of “More, Bigger, and Better,” as I was told by a leading churchman in Majuro, is destined to dominate the Marshallese assessment of their quality of life.

Educational Priorities

Marshallese educators are challenged in two different time dimensions. One is the heritage of forty-five years of poorly trained teachers and a disintegrating physical plant. The other is the need to provide more classrooms and better-trained teachers to cope with the rising enrollment as a consequence of the high birthrate. They also have to deal with a widely dispersed school-age population in the outer islands and the current concentration of pupils in the two urban areas. Educators, whether public or private, face these problems with declining budgets. The principal problems may be summarized as physical infrastructure, curricular reform, and teacher performance.

Much has been accomplished in classroom rehabilitation and expansion, but pressure continues on the government to build more facilities for the rapidly expanding school-age population. In the school year 1987–1988 the total number of students in public and private institutions, grades one through twelve, was 13,491. Teachers employed full-time numbered 625 (Republic of the Marshall Islands 1987c). At the elementary level, seventy-six public schools served 9,015 pupils. The three largest of these are located in Majuro and Ebeye, with a total of 3,257 enrollees—an appalling over-registration in the urban centers. Twenty private elementary schools, mostly church-operated, reported an additional 2,566 pupils, about 85 percent of whom attended classes in Majuro and Ebeye.

At the high-school level, the shortage of classrooms is extremely critical. Only 65 percent of all eighth-graders eligible for secondary school can be accepted. There are only two public high schools, in Majuro and Jaluit atolls, with 891 students enrolled. Two more schools are planned, for Likiep Atoll and Ebeye Island. Church-operated high schools number six, all located in Majuro and Ebeye, with a total of 1,019 students.

Teaching staffs badly need improvement. Those who were recruited in the early years of the US administration are generally lacking in motivation and in the skills required in the changing educational climate. This is more true in the outer islands, and is one reason why many parents have moved to the urban centers, where better schooling can be expected for their children. In thirty-three of the outer-island schools, there are only one or two teachers to handle the entire eight grades. On the other hand, in the overcrowded urban elementary schools where teachers can be assigned grade by grade the student-teacher ratio may be as high as forty to one.

In-service training for teachers is offered by the government during the school year and in summer, as well as in classes at the Marshalls branch of the College of Micronesia in Majuro. Training focuses on English language and mathematics, a policy supported by parents. Coursework is also provided in science, social studies, health education, and the arts. Very little emphasis is given to bicultural studies, that is, Marshallese and American. However, it is recognized that children learn more quickly in their native tongue, and the early elementary grades are taught in Marshallese. English receives more emphasis in the upper grades. Peace Corps volunteers, most of whom spend their terms in the outer islands, are teaching English and health education in the local schools.

Curricular reform is high on the agenda for government educators. In 1986 a comprehensive review of school curricula (all grades) was initiated by a special task force to define educational goals in nine subject areas. More attention is being given to bicultural learning, vocational education, and college preparation for those so inclined. Basic marketable skills are needed for those intending to seek local employment. For students who want to go on to college overseas—with scholarship aid from the Marshalls government, the federal Pell Grant program, or private sources—improved high school preparation is recognized as imperative to equip them better to perform at the tertiary level than has been true in the past. The Ministry of Education in March 1989 selected a Washington, DC-based firm, the Academy for Educational Development, to conduct a thorough review of the public school system and to assist with making necessary changes.

One handicap that the school system, whether public or private, will find difficult to overcome is that the student-teacher relationship tends to be impersonal compared to that of children to their parents. Marshallese, with apparent reason, regard schooling as a foreign introduction from America that is more "theirs" than "ours."

Sociocultural Confusion

The issues identified by my correspondents in 1988 as the most crucial of all are the changes taking place in family relations, land tenure, and chiefly authority. Traditionally the elderly have enjoyed respect based on their years of experience and their senior roles in the extended family and the landholding system. Grandparents, though physically less active in old age, served as fountains of knowledge in the enculturation of their grandchildren and as havens of refuge from the stricter, more formal relationships between parents and children (Mason 1982). Kin-group members worked together and shared in the products of their labors. Women yielded to men in matters of public concern and debate but maintained importance within the household domain. People recognized the authority of the *alab* who spoke for each matrilineage in village councils. Paramount chiefs were held in awe and were given service and produce from the land by the commoners. Church attendance became part of the island custom, and pastors and priests still provide counsel and exercise influence in family and community affairs.

While much of Marshallese traditional culture has survived in the outer islands, less remains intact in the urban centers. Schooling and materialism, coupled with a sense of individualism and a shift to nuclear-family living, have resulted in a new elitism—socially, economically, and politically. Respect for the elderly and for traditional authority has declined, especially among the young. Traditional role behavior has lost its meaning for youth. New models of behavior are being adopted from college-student returnees, from media performers on television and movie screen, and from some of the Americans in Majuro who work in government or in the private sector. The future of Marshallese youth is obscure, dimmed by their rejection of the island heritage and by their frustration in trying to achieve an American identity. Some are finding an answer by returning to their outer-island homeland, others are able to fit reasonably well into the competitive urban society. But many youth are lost: some strike back at society through delinquent acts or turn their aggression inward by threat or act of suicide; some leave the islands to seek a new identity overseas (Mason 1977).

The situation regarding land rights deserves separate consideration. The two-class system that segregated the *iroij* from the *kajur* has deteriorated in the past century owing to colonial introductions. Strangely enough, however, the system seems to have revived somewhat in recent years due to new developments during the US administration and the

recent move to self-government. Formerly, land disputes were resolved within the *iroij* family or by chiefly decisions in the case of disagreements among the *kajur*. Such cases now appear more often in the courts, American legal practices replacing the traditional dispute resolution machinery. The rights of *iroij* and *kajur* (including subcategories of the *kajur*) are now defined by Western law and are practically cast in concrete. The *iroij* class has regained some of its former power owing to court decisions about the share due them from payments for lands leased by the US government, notably at Kwajalein where US missile testing is conducted as part of the Star Wars program. Hundreds of thousands of dollars annually are paid out to each group, and money talks loudly today in determining custom (Mason 1987).

However, when we look again at the attitudes of modern-day youth, it is important to note that their lack of respect for traditional practices may spell the demise of the *iroij* system in the next decade or two. Some Marshallese have told me that land reform will signal a complete turn-about in the assignment of property rights. By legal action the land may well be committed to individual ownership in the American manner. The *iroij* could still be accorded a ceremonial status but would no longer have any control over the land or the people living on it.

Governance and the Public Trust

The distribution of power in the present system of Marshall Islands governance reflects salient features of the traditional political order and the democratic parliamentary model. The latter evolved from the legislative experience gained by the Marshallese in the Nitijela prior to 1979, when the executive branch was controlled by the TTPI administration. Some *iroij* leaders were elected to the new parliament, including future president Kabua, and this combined authoritative influence from both systems. However, the parliamentary approach adopted in the 1979 constitution, while it bespoke a more internationally recognized model, does not allow for the separation of legislative and executive powers that the Marshallese had come to expect from their experience with the US system. Furthermore, the parliamentary form, to be effective, requires a strong, vocal opposition for a balance of power in legislative decisions. This has not been the case in the Marshalls, partly because open criticism of those in leadership positions is not consonant with the island tradition of *iroij* and *kajur* relationships. Suffice it to say, in the decade since self-government was established the public has become increasingly uneasy with policy-making "from the top down" and with

the lack of effective communication between the elected members of the Nitijela (including the president and Cabinet ministers) and their constituencies in both the outer islands and the urban centers. Two excellent insider views of the developing political situation are provided in Smith 1983 and Johnson 1988 by American expatriates married to prominent Marshallese women.

The public trust is embodied in the election of senators to represent the felt needs of their constituents. But, once elected, too many in the Nitijela are said to express their own assessment of issues, to help their own advancement politically, rather than the concerns of those who voted for them. Islanders, by custom, favor candidates on personal qualities rather than on issues, especially if those running for office claim upper-class rank. When the legislative sessions produce acts and resolutions, there is little feedback to the electorate. Press reports are read rarely in the outer islands, and radio newscasts carry little that informs listeners of happenings in the capital. For several years the mayors of the local governments did convene in Majuro to share their views with the republic's officials, but the high cost of air travel and per diems has of late ruled out this means of local expression.

The parliamentary system itself is receiving closer scrutiny by the people. They see a concentration of power growing more ominous as the system allows for the Nitijela membership to elect the president, who then appoints his Cabinet ministers from that same body—thus combining both legislative and executive control in a small group of politicians at the top. And, furthermore, the president and several of the senators are clothed in the traditional garb of the *iroij*, which adds immeasurably to their authority among the older people. The president is said to exert his personal influence increasingly in assignment of bureaucratic posts. The permanent secretaries take their orders from the policy-makers in the Nitijela, through their ministerial superiors, and have little opportunity to provide input from their longer experience in departmental business.

An Advisory Committee on Constitutional Amendments was authorized by the Nitijela in 1988 in accordance with a constitutional requirement for a review once in every ten years, to report and recommend its findings to the Nitijela to either directly amend the constitution or to call a constitutional convention for the purpose of proposing amendments. The committee, composed of persons from the Nitijela, the administration, and the general public, submitted a forty-one-page report in February 1989 with more than thirty recommended amendments, most of them to be referred to a constitutional convention as

opposed to direct action by the Nitijela. Issues ranged from legalistic concerns in the governance system, including the judiciary, to the participation of traditional titleholders at both national and local levels of government, especially where indigenous rights to land are concerned (Republic of the Marshall Islands 1989). The Nitijela accepted the proposals for consideration by a constitutional convention to be held later in 1989. Meanwhile, the Cabinet approved a four-day holiday in early May to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Marshallese Constitution.

The bureaucracy also needs reform. In some departments, varying with supervisory efficiency, the high rate of absenteeism and a "laid-back" inattention to office duties raise a question about how large the staff must be to get the job done. New skill requirements call for employee retraining. Communication within some departments and between departments is reportedly lax. Information about new projects in the republic and about negotiated relationships with other Pacific states is not always shared promptly for maximum efficiency.

Planning for the first five years under the compact has been revised to take into account reductions in US program assistance, domestic revenues, and anticipated loans and grant aid from international agencies. A frequently heard complaint is that government funds are spent primarily on capital improvement projects in Majuro or, less so, in Ebeye, and that outer-island communities are ignored. The budgetary revision includes cutbacks in outer-island fisheries development and in social services. Increased revenue will be needed if public services are to be strengthened. The private sector, already the strongest in Micronesia, and foreign investment are looked to increasingly to lessen the financial burden on the government (Gunasekara 1988). However, the more funding that is generated for island development the more the level of expectations—and the dependency on outside help—rises.

The increasing centralization of power in the president's office is a matter of deep concern to some Marshallese. Opposition to his recommendations in the Nitijela has been generally ineffective. Perhaps six or seven senators will speak out in that body, which numbers thirty-three members. However, in the last year or so, some change is reported in the increasing openness of debate in the parliament and in a corresponding shift in the ratio of "yes" and "no" votes when issues are decided on the floor.

During 1988 the president was in poor health, requiring several months of recuperation from heart surgery in California. One of his ministers served as acting president during his absence. Kabua is now in his third four-year term as head of state. Rumors abound as to when or

whether he may elect to retire. His decades of service in Marshallese politics and his leadership role in the indigenous system of chiefly authority have made him the outstanding figure of his generation. The question of who will be his successor is of enormous importance to the future of the state and the public trust.

Hazards Past, Present, and Future

Hazardous living for Marshallese did not end with the surrender of the islands by Japan to the United States in 1945. In March 1946, some 168 residents of Bikini Atoll were removed by the US naval government to make way for an atomic-bomb test site. They stayed on nearby Rongerik Atoll until early 1948, when near-starvation threatened and all were taken to Kwajalein Island. In November they decided to take up a more permanent residence on Kili Island in the southern Marshalls. I had conducted a survey of their condition on Rongerik and subsequently visited the group on Kili in 1949 briefly and during the summers of 1957 and 1963. I spent several days in March 1988 on Kili as the Bikinians' guest and had the opportunity to review their situation and their thoughts of what the future may hold. Testing on Bikini ended in 1958. By 1968 the US government had declared the atoll safe from radiation exposure. In late 1972 several families returned to Bikini, but by 1978 a US medical survey found radioactive cesium in members of the community. This resulted in a US Interior Department decision to remove all of the 139 people from Bikini. Some went back to Kili, others settled on Ejit Island in Majuro Atoll. Aided by a Washington lawyer, the Bikinians—who by 1988 numbered more than twelve hundred, with in-marriages and adoptions from other island communities—had received from the US government a total of \$185 million for the use of Bikini, for resettlement costs, and for cleanup of the atoll. Those still living on Kili Island, about 750 people, produce little from the land and the sea and are completely dependent on imports. The Bikini/Ejit/Kili local government council is seriously considering one of several options proposed by scientists, to have one foot of topsoil removed from the islands, with reoccupation to take place perhaps ten years hence. When it is safe for the Bikinians to return to their homeland, the population will no doubt continue to be divided—some remaining on Kili and Ejit and some going back to Bikini but still dependent on imports of food.

In late 1947 another atoll community was removed, from Enewetak Atoll, to allow for expansion of the US nuclear-test program. These people were resettled on Ujelang, an uninhabited atoll to the south. I spent

the first half of 1964 with them for comparison with the Bikinian dislocation. In my 1963 visit to Kili and in the 1964 study on Ujelang, I was accompanied by Robert C. Kiste, then a doctoral candidate in anthropology at the University of Oregon. We have both published articles and books on the resettlement experience. The Enewetakese, spurred by the US actions to return the Bikini people to their homeland, lobbied aggressively for cleanup of their own atoll. In 1980, by then very dependent on US funding for their material needs, some five hundred people moved back to Enewetak, their residence limited to islands along the southern rim of the atoll that had been declared safe. But nearly half of that number had returned by 1983 to Ujelang, where some subsistence was possible from their own production of food. Those who stayed on Enewetak will no doubt remain there only as long as US aid continues, for radiation is still a danger to their health if they fail to observe restrictions on local food consumption.

A disaster of a different kind has changed the lives of those who lived on Rongelap Atoll, some distance east of Bikini. In March 1954 the US military tested the largest hydrogen bomb in its nuclear program on Bikini. Strong winds carried the giant radioactive cloud eastward. The fallout passed over Rongelap, whose residents had no official warning or notification of precautions to take, and caused severe vomiting and diarrhea among the people. They were evacuated to Kwajalein for medical review and three months later they were settled on Ejit Island in Majuro. In mid-1957 they were at last returned to Rongelap, where they were monitored regularly thereafter by medical teams from the US mainland. By 1963 thyroid tumors were diagnosed and patients were treated in the United States. The son of the Rongelap magistrate died of leukemia in 1972, resulting from his exposure in 1954. Finally, in May 1985, the entire community chose to leave Rongelap, fearful of further contamination, and were transported voluntarily by the Greenpeace organization's vessel, the *Rainbow Warrior*, to Mejjatto Island on the northern rim of Kwajalein Atoll, where they still remain. US scientists report that radiation on Rongelap no longer constitutes a life hazard, but the Rongelapese are doubtful and have asked for another survey.

These three communities best exemplify the problems created by the US nuclear-test program. Other Marshallese have also suffered but to a lesser extent. Their experiences are but part of the larger issue created by worldwide developments in nuclear weaponry, not only in the Pacific where France continues to test underground at Moruroa Atoll in the Tuamotu archipelago (Firth 1987). Although the Marshallese joined the South Pacific Forum in 1987, they have still not signed the South

Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone (SPNFZ) treaty drawn up by Forum members in a 1985 Cook Islands meeting. The Marshallese are sympathetic to the terms of the treaty, to outlaw nuclear weapons in the South Pacific, but they are concerned that such an act may jeopardize their relationship with the United States under the Compact of Free Association (Mason 1988). The US has to date refused the Forum invitation to sign the SPNFZ protocols as one of the nuclear world powers. The republic established a Nuclear Claims Tribunal in early 1988 to process Marshallese claims for land deprivation and radiation-related injuries or death. The US did agree to fund such claims up to \$50 million during the fifteen-year duration of the compact.

“Star Wars” Testing. Kwajalein Atoll is the site of the most far-reaching disruption of Marshallese society. After World War II, the US naval facility on Kwajalein Island was upgraded from a modest air transport station between Hawaii and Guam to a support base for nuclear testing on Bikini and Enewetak from 1946 to 1958. In 1959 the island was selected as a test site for intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. Launch pads for test-firing Nike-Zeus missiles were developed to destroy the incoming ICBMs. Ebeye Island became home for the displaced residents of Kwajalein Island as well as for the migrants from other atolls who sought jobs at the Navy base. The Ebeye population in 1959 was about thirteen hundred. Command of Kwajalein was transferred in 1964 from the Navy to the Army. The new test site included facilities on four other islands in the atoll as well as on Kwajalein itself. The central two-thirds of the lagoon was named the Mid-Corridor, a target area with hazards for Marshallese still living on the surrounding islands. They were all relocated to Ebeye. The island population had reached three thousand by then. A ninety-nine-year lease was negotiated with Kwajalein landowners (*iroij* and *kajur* alike) for a one-time payment of \$750,000 and for Army construction of improved living facilities on Ebeye (Johnson 1984).

By 1982, however, the landowners had become increasingly unhappy with their deal with the Army. They sought a shorter lease term, higher annual payments, better conditions on Ebeye, and access to Mid-Corridor islands when tests were not scheduled. They staged a four-month protest involving about one thousand people, reoccupying their home islands and disrupting at least one missile test. The government forces (the US Army and the republic together) capitulated. The United States had already expended \$1 billion on the test site and construction of a

new one elsewhere was unlikely. As part of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI or "Star Wars" program), Kwajalein had become essential to the US military interest in the Pacific. A new three-year lease was negotiated to provide \$9 million a year in lease payments and funding for improvements of Ebeye living conditions. The Kwajalein Atoll Development Authority (KADA) was established with support from both the United States and the republic, to draw up and implement a master plan for the entire atoll community. For the five-year period 1986–1991, KADA has identified development projects amounting to \$60.6 million, a major part of which will come from compact aid. Projects encompass agriculture, fisheries, education, health, social services, transportation, and telecommunications. Included also is construction of a causeway linking Ebeye with six smaller islands to the north, which will add badly needed space for household and public facilities (Republic of the Marshall Islands 1987a). The land area available to the community will then be about one-half square mile, considerably more than Ebeye's seventy-eight acres. In October 1988 the Kwajalein landowners with rights to the Ebeye area, represented by one *iroij* and two *alabs*, agreed to lease the land to KADA for maintenance and administration of all public facilities and private rentals. Upon expiration of the 1982 lease in 1985, arrangements were made for compact monies to fund the continued lease of Kwajalein to the US military for the compact's fifteen-year term and renegotiable fifteen-year extension thereafter.

Waste Dumping. As early as 1981, when Japan was considering nuclear dumping in the western Pacific ocean, President Kabua had suggested either Bikini or Enewetak as possible storage sites. His Cabinet authorized him to ask Japan for aid to conduct a feasibility study, but nothing came of the exchange. The London Dumping Convention (LDC) in 1984 proclaimed a moratorium for four years on ocean dumping of radioactive waste. Pacific Island states strongly supported this action although Japan opposed it. The ban was extended for another year in October 1988, pending a report on the environmental hazards involved. Meanwhile a Nevada-based firm approached the people of Wotje Atoll with a proposal to dump industrial waste from the continental US on nearby Erikub Atoll. Landowners at Wotje rejected the idea.

In December 1987 President Kabua requested the US Congress to conduct a feasibility survey for storage of nuclear waste in uninhabited atolls in the north, since unlimited sums of revenue monies were promised by mainland companies for the disposal of waste, toxic or nontoxic.

The Nitijela overrode his proposal as potentially hazardous to Marshallese living nearby. Later a firm in Seattle, Washington, Admiralty Pacific, came with a proposition to dump solid waste as landfill in the northern uninhabited Marshalls, arguing the advantages of creating new land area and generating millions of dollars annually. The firm's representatives visited the Marshalls in October of that year, seeking official approval for environmental studies. The government agreed in January 1989—subject to a thorough environmental study—noting the potential for more land on hitherto uninhabited islands, for crop production, for housing sites, and for airstrips to facilitate transportation. The company expects to complete its studies by the end of 1989 (Johnson 1989).

Meanwhile, scientists from Hawaii have been studying those same atolls in the north, assisted by funding from South Pacific regional organizations, to advise on proper management of natural resources and endangered fauna, for example, turtles, clams, coconut crabs, and birds. Jemo Island and Bikar Atoll have been recommended as off-limit preserves. Two others, Taka near inhabited Utirik Atoll and Erikub near Wotje Atoll, are suggested as limited-harvest areas to be used only by residents of the nearby owner atolls. Whether these islands are used for dumping wastes or as reserved areas, the republic's Cabinet and Nitijela will have to approve final disposition, officials say.

“Greenhouse Effect.” Global climatic changes in recent years threaten atoll environments in the Pacific with a rising sea level, due to warming of ocean waters and melting of polar ice sheets and glaciers. Scientists do not agree on the rate of sea-level change to be expected, but it may be as much as three to six feet in the next twenty to forty years. At the September 1988 meeting of the South Pacific Forum in Tonga, this “greenhouse effect” was the subject of extensive debate. President Ieremia Tabai of the Republic of Kiribati, a country of atolls lying south of the equator from the Marshalls, expressed his great concern not only about the long-term result when whole atolls may be submerged, but also the short-term need to plan realistically for the future of the Kiribati people (Palmer 1988).

The Marshall Islands will face equally threatening disaster if the continuing studies of scientists verify the present claims of some observers. In February 1989, the Marshallese Cabinet approved a proposal from the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) to convene a major conference in Majuro, in July 1989, on the greenhouse effect. Representatives from nineteen Pacific Island governments plus Austra-

lia, New Zealand, France, the United States, and the United Kingdom were scheduled to meet with scientists from universities in the Pacific and the United States to discuss the impact of climatic changes and sea-level rises in the Pacific and to consider assistance that may be needed by atoll populations in particular.

Primary Health Care Efforts

In reviewing health services, we return to consideration of the high population growth rate with the expectation of sixty thousand Marshallese by the year 2000. In early 1986 the new minister of health services, Tony DeBrum, said the basis of his administration would be promotion of preventive health care, to keep people healthy so they do not have to go to a hospital. A task force was named to assess the situation and to make recommendations. Apart from the growing population problem, the Marshallese were experiencing a high infant mortality rate from malnutrition and infections, a high suicide rate among young men, a high incidence of communicable diseases, especially those transmitted sexually among youth, and an alarming degree of diabetes, cancer, and heart problems among the elderly. The task force recommended greater attention to health education, to immunization outreach programs, to maternal and child health, to family planning, including the Youth-to-Youth in Health volunteer corps, to mental health and counseling of youth with suicidal thoughts, to sanitation and a clean water supply, and to improvement of the outer-islands dispensary system to encourage more community-based health care efforts. The key word is now "self-reliance" as applied in community programs of preventive or primary health care (Republic of the Marshall Islands 1988a).

The ministry is still concerned with curative health services. In May 1986 a new \$8-million medical facility was opened in Majuro to replace the old Armer Ishoda Hospital. The US-based Mercy International Health Services organization was contracted to administer the well-equipped eighty-one-bed facility. Improvements were planned in existing services, in more staff training, in more efficient procurement of medical supplies, and in more effective management of both out-patient and in-patient care. Another hospital is operating on Ebeye, and sixty-one dispensaries on the outer islands provide out-patient care, with referrals to the Majuro hospital as needed.

In 1984 the Marimed Foundation, a private American endeavor committed to the betterment of Marshallese health, proposed to build and equip a three-masted, shallow-draft medical ship, the *Tole Mour* (Gift

of Life and Health), to be subsidized by the republic's Health Services Ministry and staffed with medical volunteers from the United States. Working as an integral part of the islands' health system, it would visit the outer islands on a regular basis and train Marshallese medical personnel. The *Tole Mour* was built in Seattle, dedicated there and in Honolulu in 1988, and sailed across the Pacific to begin work in the Marshalls at the end of the year.

Reflecting about the Future

What about the future? No one from outside the Marshalls should presume to instruct the islanders about what is best for them, and I will not do so. Nevertheless, in my conversations with them during my two visits to the Marshalls in 1988, they identified options and courses of action they might follow to make the decisions for which they alone are responsible. They readily acknowledged the acute dependency on outside financial aid that they have accepted. As one man put it, they are like shoppers in a supermarket, taking goods from the shelves impulsively without regard to need or to cost. They live in the present, not in the future. Whatever will be, will be. Worry later about the consequences. These statements sum up the attitude of most individuals, I suspect, as well as that of those in authority. The government planners have laid out a programmatic course for the republic for the next five years, as required under the compact. At first draft, this was merely a "wish-list," a Christmas shopping agenda, which later had to be rephased to take into account the realities of limited revenues available to the republic.

Who are the Marshallese today? How do they view themselves as a people, culturally and ethnically? How do they wish to be seen by others in the Pacific and in the world beyond? The republic's foreign relations program since independence in 1986 has been ambitious and remarkably successful in negotiation of diplomatic ties and trade agreements with other Pacific Island states (Kiribati, Tuvalu, Fiji, the FSM, New Zealand, Australia, and Papua New Guinea) and elsewhere in the world (Japan, the Philippines, Taiwan, Israel, and several regional and international organizations). Ambassadors have been formally installed in Fiji and in Washington.

But what about the internal, domestic, or cultural self-image that the Marshallese people seek for themselves today? My Marshallese correspondents talked to me about goals of self-reliance and self-sufficiency. The government of the republic cites these goals as paramount, but

many citizens are doubtful about its commitment as they watch its efforts to develop more revenues from external sources, both public and private. I was told repeatedly that the government must work more closely with the people, accepting input from the middle and bottom rungs of society as well as from the top. Each constituency in the islands has distinct and complementary contributions to make toward achieving national goals and aspirations. One respondent labeled this approach "multi-party planning," a process that acknowledges more public participation.

More emphasis was suggested on positive thinking and reflection on the quality of life. Is there really a choice for the future? What are the options—a return to traditional custom, uncritical acceptance of the Western mode of living, or some blend of the best of both? But what does "best" mean? What criteria do Marshallese rely on today to decide this fateful dilemma?

As explained to me, discussion is vitally needed among public and private groups alike. Questions have to be asked about what is desirable in the quality of life decades hence. Exploration of existing problems is called for to define the critical issues and to examine possible solutions. The people themselves have to come up with the answers to questions as they conceive them. This means workshops, seminars, and public gatherings of people from all avenues of Marshallese life. This means the vocal expression of ideas and attitudes from local government councils, from women's and youth organizations, from the elders in each community, from church congregations, from school administrators and teachers, from the Chamber of Commerce that represents island business interests, from the traditional leaders, as well as from the Nitijela and the Cabinet. This means realistic involvement in planning economic and social programs from the very start, so that these are the people's programs and not something imposed on them from above or from outside.

In conclusion, it must be admitted that there is no possibility of turning back to the old Marshallese way of life. That is now a matter of history. Too much has changed during the last century or more, since foreigners came to the Marshalls and began to introduce new customs—trade, Christianity, colonial impositions, and a depth of dependency on outside help since World War II that seems irreversible. However, President Kabua supports a Marshallese self-image based on old cultural forms, and has encouraged the Alele Museum in Majuro to expand its programs of cultural awareness of the islands' past. A language commission has been appointed to encourage the teaching of Marshallese in

the schools and to conduct research on the vocabulary and grammar of the native vernacular so that it will not die out in the next generation. A weekly television show relates stories and legends from the past and instructs the viewing audience in the songs and dances of Marshallese tradition that are unique in the Pacific, as evidenced in August 1988 at the South Pacific Arts Festival held in Townsville, Australia. Annually, the museum sponsors a folk arts festival in Majuro to acquaint the urban community with traditional arts, craftwork, and healing practices. Oral history is tape-recorded for the museum archives and historical landmarks are being identified for preservation.

At the other end of the spectrum of community-oriented attempts to get a better grasp of what the future holds is the Youth-to-Youth in Health program, a family-planning venture in which young men and women are invited to volunteer their time and energy in creative efforts in the arts, writing stories and plays for public showing on television. In the process, during weekly sessions, they learn more about themselves as individuals, about the talents they possess that only need development, about the importance of self and service to the community, and about the value of a positive approach to modern life. It is the youth of the Marshall Islands who in the end will determine the future course of fulfillment for a people who have experienced such rapid change in only a few decades.

NOTE

The names of certain Micronesian groups—Ponape, Kusaie, and Palau—have been employed consistently in older atlases and historical writings. Recently, owing to local preferences, Ponape has been replaced with Pohnpei, Kusaie with Kosrae, and Palau with Belau. I have adopted the newer terms when used in a cultural/linguistic sense, or in a political reference after the change was officially made to Pohnpei and Kosrae. Either Palau or Belau is acceptable in contemporary political usage. The older terms are used where legally appropriate in the political history of the region.

Considering the rapid rate of change in contemporary Micronesia, I should note that final revision of this paper was completed in June 1989, and no attempt has been made to update the material since then.

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**THE GREAT FLIGHT NORTHWARD:
FSM MIGRATION TO GUAM AND THE
NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS**

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Over the past two decades regular warnings have been issued about the inevitability of a brain drain in Micronesia. As the imminence of such an event was being argued in scholarly and not-so-scholarly circles, one of us could confidently report in a paper written four years ago and only now being published that emigration from the Federated States of Micronesia up to that time had been merely a “trickle” (Hezel and Levin 1989).¹ This is no longer true today. Emigration from the nation-states of Micronesia—particularly from the Federated States of Micronesia, our main focus in this article—has increased from a trickle to a substantial outflow. The long-anticipated exodus has begun in earnest, it appears. The purpose of this article is to document this sudden demographic occurrence: that is, to indicate the magnitude of emigration, its causes, reasons for the choice of destinations, and significant changes in household patterns of recent migrants. Let the reader be warned, however, that this article makes no claim to being a thorough analysis of recent emigration. It is but an initial exploration of a phenomenon that, except for this brief article, has been undocumented and unresearched.

Indeed, this should be read as an invitation to demographers and students of social change to consider undertaking more rigorous studies.

The newly formed nation known as the Federated States of Micronesia represents the core of what until recently had been the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. During the course of long negotiations on the Trust Territory's political future, three of its island groups expressed the desire to establish separate political identities. The Northern Marianas, which shares a cultural tradition with Guam, chose commonwealth status, while Palau and the Marshall Islands formed their own governments, each in free association with the US (although Palau's new status has yet to be formally implemented). The remainder of the former Trust Territory took the name Federated States of Micronesia and adopted a status of free association with the US under terms of a compact that was put into effect in November 1986. The FSM is composed of four states: Yap, with a current population of 10,000; Truk, whose 51,000 people constitute half the population of the FSM; Pohnpei, which numbers 31,000; and Kosrae with 7,000.²

Of all the new nations fashioned from the Trust Territory, the FSM has been the most visibly affected by the emigration wave of the past few years. The greatest outflow by far has been northward to the Territory of Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI). That emigration should be occurring in the new island-nation of the FSM is not in itself surprising. Recognizing the limited resource base and economic potential of their islands, Micronesian leaders purposely provided for emigration under their new political status. The Compact of Free Association grants Micronesians free entry into the US to "lawfully engage in occupations and establish residence as non-immigrants in the US and its territories" (Compact 1982: Title I, Article 4). Emigration to the US was regarded as necessary to permit run-off of excess population, which is still growing at more than 3 percent yearly in the FSM, and as a safety valve in the event that plans for developing the economy fail. Even so, the rapidity of the outflow during the first two years of the FSM's new status was a shock to the nation's leaders.

Emigration from Micronesia to its northern neighbors has a history that goes back to the earliest Trust Territory days. Since the 1950s Guam has been the destination of many emigrants from Palau, an island that has always had a reputation as the most progressive and achievement-oriented society in Micronesia. Palauans thronged to Guam long before Filipinos in any appreciable number arrived there, and they owned the small bars and diners along Marine Drive that later passed into the hands of Koreans (Solenberger 1953:7-8). Their number increased from

perhaps 100 in 1953 to well over 1,000, and perhaps closer to 1,500, by the early 1980s (Connell 1983:21-22; Hezel and Levin 1989). Meanwhile, islanders from other parts of Micronesia arrived in Guam to pursue college studies beginning in the early 1960s, when boarding facilities for Trust Territory students were first built. The number of young Micronesian college students on Guam increased during the early 1970s, then dropped sharply as Micronesians ventured to the US for schooling, but picked up again later as education and travel costs rose, and finally peaked by the mid-1980s with over 500 students from the FSM and another 140 from Palau and the Marshalls (Hezel and Levin 1989: table 12). Most of these students returned home after completing their studies, but a few trickled into the mainstream of life as Guam residents.

The 1980 Guam census showed 410 FSM residents on Guam, but about half of these were students on the island temporarily (US Census Bureau 1980: table 26). The size of the permanent FSM community that had taken root on Guam by that time, then, was no larger than 200 to 250 people. During these twilight days of the Trust Territory when Micronesians still were unable to immigrate freely into Guam, the Northern Marianas was the favorite destination of young Micronesians seeking employment. Since there were no restrictions on entry into the Marianas, which was still officially a part of the Trust Territory, scores of Trukese and others headed for Saipan or Tinian to take jobs in the garment factories that were just opening, in the fishing plant on Tinian, and in the dozens of businesses that were sprouting up as the tourist industry expanded.

The Extent of the Outflow to Guam

When the Compact of Free Association between the FSM and the United States was implemented on 3 November 1986, the situation changed entirely. For the first time Micronesians were allowed free entry into the US and its possessions to live and work without restriction. The Guam Department of Labor quarterly economic survey figures for March 1985 and March 1986 showed about 1,100 ethnic "Micronesians" sixteen years of age and older, most of them presumably Palauans.³ By March 1987 the number had risen by 430, and by March 1988 by another 800. According to Labor Department estimates, 1,200 Micronesians over the age of sixteen had been added to the Guam resident population within a year and a half of the inauguration of the compact. If another 20 percent is added to this figure to account for

TABLE 1. Household Survey of Micronesians on Guam by State and Occupational Status, 1988

State of Origin	Households	Sample Size	Employed	Unemployed	Students	Attending UOG & GCC
Truk	55	375	151	82	142	79
Pohnpei	16	55	10	9	36	13
Kosrae	14	66	42	15	9	5
Yap	16	89	49	12	28	21

Source: Data collected by Micronesian Area Research Center and Micronesian Seminar; survey conducted in October 1988.

dependents under the age of sixteen, it appears that the number of Micronesian newcomers to Guam may have totaled about 1,600 by early 1988.⁴ These, as we will see, constituted the first large wave of FSM people moving to Guam on a permanent or semipermanent basis.

In the absence of any gate-count of FSM emigrants at either their point of departure or their destination, the authors undertook a rudimentary household survey in September 1988 to determine the number of FSM citizens who were then residing on Guam. The survey form, which included the name, age, occupational status, and birth island of each Micronesian in the household, was distributed as widely as possible throughout the community. Questions about the social organization of the household or the economic condition of its members were deliberately excluded, despite the valuable information they might have yielded, for fear that a longer and more complex survey would have discouraged respondents from completing the form. Responses were then tabulated and the information obtained was used to extrapolate to the total number of emigrants from each state in the FSM.

The Trukese sample, for instance, contained 375 migrants living in fifty-five households (see Table 1). These households included about 33 percent of the 242 students who were known to be studying at the University of Guam (UOG) and Guam Community College (GCC). Assuming that the ratio of students to nonstudents was the same in the households not surveyed, we could extrapolate to the size of the entire Trukese population on Guam. The result is 1,100 Trukese living in about 160 households. This estimate concurs nicely with another estimate based on the known emigration from two small communities in Truk. The island of Fanapanges, with ten persons living on Guam out of a population of about 500, showed a 2.0 percent emigration rate; while Foup, with nineteen out of 700 on Guam, had a slightly higher rate of 2.7 percent.⁵ If these rates were typical for the whole of Truk

TABLE 2. FSM College Enrollment on Guam for Fall 1988

State of Origin	GCC	UOG	Total	% of Total FSM Students
Truk	163	79	242	62
Pohnpei	35	38	73	19
Kosrae	14	20	34	9
Yap	30	10	40	10
Total	242	147	389	100

Sources: University of Guam registration figures; Registrar's Office of Guam Community College.

with its population of 50,000, then the number of Trukese on Guam would be between 1,000 and 1,350.

Estimates for the remainder of the FSM are more questionable since the sample size in the survey was much smaller and the margin of error greater. Yet, if we use the same method to extrapolate from the samples for the other states, while allowing for the number of students living in the UOG dormitories, we can make reasonable projections of their immigrant populations. Pohnpeians would number about 300 and Yapese about 150. The Kosraean projection, which must be modified considerably since 40 percent of Kosraean college students live in the dormitories, would be around 150. Altogether these three states have roughly 600 citizens on Guam, their combined total falling well below the number of Trukese on the island. This estimate is supported by the preponderance of Trukese among the FSM college students on Guam. As Table 2 shows, fully 62 percent of all FSM students are Trukese—roughly the same proportion as the Trukese immigrant community to all FSM citizens living on Guam, if our estimates are accepted. In all, the number of FSM citizens residing on Guam would seem to be in the neighborhood of 1,700, about the same size as the estimate derived from Guam Labor Department survey data.

It might be noted that there are also fifty to sixty Marshallese on Guam, although we have not included the Marshalls within the scope of this study because of the small size of the Marshallese community.⁶ The migration flow from the Marshalls runs in the opposite direction, with Hawaii and the US mainland as the normal destinations.

The Search for Jobs

There is no mystery at all as to what is driving Micronesians in such great numbers to Guam today. They are emigrating to find there the

TABLE 3. Total Salary Employment in Micronesia

Year	Truk	Pohnpei	Kosrae	Yap
1970	1,832	1,847	NA	952
1973	2,515	1,939	365	1,126
1976	3,743	3,239	717	1,421
1979	5,599	3,442	510	2,027
1982	3,782	3,913	682	1,484
1985	4,054	NA	NA	NA
1988*	6,116	6,253	2,376	2,190

NA = not available.

Sources: Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands 1981; FSM Social Security Office records.

*Figures for 1988, derived from social security records, are unadjusted. Since they include persons who have worked less than 25 hours weekly, they are inflated by comparison with previous years.

jobs that they are unable to procure on their own home islands, as they will plainly tell anyone who asks. By the early 1980s the job boom of the previous decade was decidedly over in Micronesia (see Table 3). Between 1979 and 1982, more than 1,700 jobs throughout the FSM were lost. Only Pohnpei showed any significant continuing growth in employment during the early eighties, due to the transfer of the FSM capital to that island a few years before. The decline in employment was due mainly to radical cutbacks in US federal program funds for the Trust Territory in preparation for the onset of its new political status. The level of US assistance had risen from \$54 million in 1970 to a high of \$138 million in 1979 before dropping off sharply at the beginning of this decade (Micronesian Seminar 1984:40). The cut in funds also affected the private sector, which had always been dependent on government spending as its main impetus.

Preliminary employment figures for 1988 appear to show an appreciable increase in the number of jobs within the past few years, but these figures—the only ones available—are unadjusted and hence include individuals working an average of only a few hours each week. Even if there was in fact an increase in full-time employment, the increase was probably too little and too late, considering the number of educated Micronesians entering the labor pool. In populous Truk, for instance, the figures show only 517 jobs more than there were in 1979, while in Yap there are 163 more positions. Although Kosrae and Pohnpei show healthy gains, the overall apparent increase in employment in the FSM—about 5,300 jobs since 1979—is modest compared to our esti-

mate of the 14,000 individuals who entered the labor pool in this same period.

The cutback in government funding and the concomitant loss of jobs hit Micronesia all the harder because of the euphoria that the education boom of the 1970s had brought. High school enrollment swelled during those years and hundreds of young Micronesians went off to college abroad in the expectation of finding jobs awaiting them upon their return. The early returnees were fortunate enough to find employment in the growing economy of the mid-1970s, but those who followed them were not as lucky. During the period 1979–1982, in which the FSM lost more than 1,700 jobs, about 1,800 recent graduates—half of them with at least some college education—entered the labor force (Hezel and Levin 1989). Needless to say, large numbers of this and later crops of students were disappointed in their search for salary employment within Micronesia. Their frustration was reflected in a slight dip in high school and college enrollments, but even so, great numbers of young people continued to pursue higher studies even in the face of a very uncertain future. In 1985 there were still about 1,200 young FSM citizens abroad in college, with over one-third of them in Guam (Hezel and Levin 1989: table 12). Job prospects in Micronesia had by this time become dismal, but before these young people finished school, the compact would open new doors to the future.

Guam's economy, meanwhile, was the reverse image of the FSM's. In contrast to Micronesia, Guam's economy had been sluggish after the Vietnam War wound down in the early 1970s, and the number of jobs, which dropped sharply in 1974, hovered at about 30,000 to 34,000 for the next ten years (see Table 4). Then in early 1984 the real boom began. Thanks to the devaluation of the US dollar and the resultant strength of the yen, the Japanese tourist industry on Guam began to show prodigious growth. This in turn helped power a new construction boom and rapid growth in island business. The misfortune that had befallen the US economy became a windfall for Guam. Private-sector employment on Guam has shown enormous gains since 1984, with the addition of more than 11,500 new jobs in the past four years. Overall, private-sector employment has increased from 15,480 positions in December 1983 to 29,860 in June 1988—nearly 100 percent growth in less than five years (Government of Guam 1986:110). And the boom shows no signs of abating.

At present Guam has a very limited labor supply from which to draw to fill these new positions. Unlike the Northern Marianas, which is experiencing a tourist boom of its own, Guam has severe restrictions on

TABLE 4. Employment on Guam, 1974–1988

Year	Government	Private	Total
1974	15,600	21,900	37,500
1975	15,600	18,900	34,500
1976	13,900	15,900	29,800
1977	14,500	18,100	32,600
1978	13,400	18,100	31,500
1979	14,300	16,800	31,100
1980	16,600	16,700	33,300
1981	14,700	16,700	31,400
1982	14,460	15,690	30,150
1983	15,390	15,480	30,870
1984	16,300	18,920	35,220
1985	16,980	21,190	38,170
1986	16,150	24,150	40,300
1987	16,390	27,550	43,940
1988	16,760	29,860	46,620

Sources: Government of Guam 1986:109–110; Government of Guam 1988a.

importation of alien labor. All H-2 work permits for foreign laborers must be signed by the governor, and the present size of the alien labor force is only about 1,600 (Government of Guam 1988b:22). With a current unemployment rate of only 4.5 percent, there is little hope that Guam can find in its own population an adequate work force to handle all the new jobs being created. It may be providential, then, that the bars to Micronesian immigration dropped at the very time the labor shortage was becoming acute. Hundreds of Micronesians who had little hope of finding salary employment in their own islands have already moved to Guam to take entry-level jobs—in hotels, in stores and gas stations, and in construction—that would otherwise have been unfilled. The prospect of a job, even a low-status one, at US wage levels (which are princely by comparison with FSM standards) has attracted hundreds to Guam and may lure many more in years to come.

Guam's attitude towards the large influx of Micronesians within the past two years is ambivalent; most longtime residents look upon it as a mixed blessing. There is no doubt that the newcomers play an essential role in Guam's expanding economy, but they are also regarded by many as a burden that must somehow be borne with whatever good-humored resignation can be mustered. "Trukese" (the word can be understood to apply equally to other Micronesians) have apparently won a reputation for brawling in nightspots, smashing into telephone and power lines

TABLE 5. "Micronesian" Enrollment in Guam Public Schools^a

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988 ^b
Elementary	225	229	NA	255	299
Middle School	81	97	NA	94	140
High School	29	8	NA	7	37
Total	335	334	NA	356	476

Source: Guam Department of Education, ethnic enrollment reports.

Note: Figures are for fall enrollment; NA = not available.

^aIncludes students from the FSM, Marshalls, and Palau, but excludes those from the Northern Marianas.

^bProjections based on incomplete enrollment reports from the schools.

with their cars while intoxicated, and trashing apartments that they lease or rent.⁷ Some natives of Truk have found it necessary to identify themselves as Marshallese or Pohnpeians to avoid being blacklisted when they attempt to rent an apartment. But Trukese are not the first migrant group in history to be tagged with unflattering stereotypes.

The more substantial reservations that Guam has about its recent arrivals have to do with the social-service costs and who will pay them. Education of dependents, medical care, and other welfare programs for which Micronesians are eligible will cost the government a sizable sum, and Guam authorities are asking themselves how to pass along part of the price tag to the US federal government (Government of Guam 1987). The annual cost of educating a public-school student on Guam is \$3,000, and projections based on partial enrollment figures for 1988 indicate that the number of Micronesian students may have increased by more than 100 during the past year (see Table 5). Furthermore, since Micronesians are currently ineligible for federally funded public-assistance programs, the welfare burden may fall upon the Guam government and private service agencies. But even as Guamanians ponder whether the costs of having large numbers of Micronesians may outweigh the benefits, the island remains firmly committed to its present economic growth course. The yearly number of visitors to the island has just reached the half-million mark for the first time ever, the number of hotel rooms is expanding by several hundred each year, and hotel employees now work in three full shifts to keep up with the work load. The large hotels are attempting to lure employees away from their rivals with higher salaries as the tourist industry vigorously competes for the limited labor pool. Unless Guam wishes to call a sudden halt to its

TABLE 6. FSM Enrollment in Northern Marianas Public Schools

State of Origin	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Pohnpei	72	78	84	74	102
Yap	45	25	26	26	38
Truk	91	79	95	108	133
Total	208	182	205	208	273

Source: CNMI Department of Education.

Note: Figures include enrollments for grades 1–12 in public schools.

economic boom, the island must find additional large supplies of labor over the coming years—of the various alternatives, continued reliance on Micronesian labor is probably the cheapest, social costs notwithstanding.

An Alternate Destination: The Northern Marianas

Guam has not been the only destination of FSM emigrants. The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands is now the home of nearly as many FSM citizens as Guam—between 1,200 and 1,400, our estimates show. In addition, there are about 1,000 Palauans, many of whom found jobs and took up residence in Saipan when it was still the capital of the Trust Territory, and perhaps 100 or so Marshallese.⁸ Exact figures for the number of FSM residents in the Marianas are impossible to obtain, and no household survey similar to the one on Guam was done in the CNMI. Yet the number of FSM children enrolled in the public-school system provides a fairly good clue to the size of the immigrant population (see Table 6). We can presume, on the basis of data that we possess for other places, that the 273 FSM schoolchildren represent about 20 percent of the total FSM population in the CNMI, which would put the latter at just below 1,400. Trukese once again seem to be the largest group, with an estimated immigrant population of 700. There are probably 400 to 500 Pohnpeians and perhaps 200 Yapese, with a mere handful of Kosraeans.⁹

Hundreds of FSM citizens moved to Saipan, the CNMI capital, during the early 1980s before Micronesians were allowed free access to Guam. The CNMI, like Guam, has recently been enjoying an economic boom that is in good measure the result of the growing Japanese tourist industry. Visitor entries have risen steadily since 1983, reaching more

than 200,000 in 1988.¹⁰ Hotel expansion has been so rapid that in five more years Saipan is expected to reach the tourist level that Guam attained in 1986 (Stewart 1988:137).

In addition to the tourist industry and related services, a sizable manufacturing industry has grown up around twenty-four garment factories now producing clothing for export to the US. The garment industry, which has quickly expanded since its beginnings in 1983, offered new openings and was one of the main attractions to Micronesians. Although the vast majority of the employees were Asian (mainly Chinese, Korean, and Filipino), commonwealth law mandated that 12 percent of the total work force be "local" employees—a term that is interpreted broadly enough to include Micronesians from outside the Marianas (Stewart 1988:76). Factory managers have never found enough Chamorro and Carolinian workers to make up their quota and so have had to recruit from other parts of Micronesia. Of the 580 employees in the largest of these factories, 105 are "local," with all but thirty of these coming from the FSM.¹¹ At present it is estimated that upwards of 450 FSM citizens—mostly women—are employed in the garment industry on Saipan.

Scores of other FSM citizens have found jobs in the tourist industry as chambermaids, bellhops, and warehouse clerks, while many others have hired on as security guards for hotels and other private businesses. Apparently there are also a number unemployed, since over 200 FSM citizens were receiving food stamps as of October 1988.¹²

Migration from the FSM to the Northern Marianas has slowed considerably since 1986, when Guam became an alternate destination. The hourly minimum wage in the Northern Marianas at \$2.15 is over 40 percent below the \$3.75 minimum on Guam and employee benefits are less comprehensive. Moreover, the Northern Marianas has an ample supply of relatively cheap alien labor—the foreign labor force now numbers about 15,000—and there is little need to encourage Micronesian immigration except to fill the quotas for the garment factories.¹³ Indeed, some Trukese and Pohnpeians are still emigrating to Saipan today to take jobs in the garment industry or to join their families, but FSM labor plays a far more marginal role in the CNMI than it does in Guam. One small gauge of this is that, of the 285 persons employed by the newest luxury hotel, the Nikko Saipan, only eight are FSM citizens.¹⁴ The Northern Marianas, therefore, can be expected to remain what they have been since the transfer of Trust Territory headquarters there in the early 1960s—an economic fallback when all else fails.

TABLE 7. FSM Sample on Guam by Island Group of Origin and Household Type

	Family Households ^a	Peer-Group Households ^b	Other ^c
Pohnpei	9	1	6
Kosrae	4	10	
Yap	7	9	
Truk:			
Moen	8	2	
Dublon	6	0	
Uman	1	6	
Tol	7	2	
Mortlocks	3	9	
Westerns	2	5	
Halls	0	4	

Source: Data collected by MARC and Micronesian Seminar in a survey conducted in October 1988.

^aDefined as one in which a husband and spouse, regardless of their age, serve as nucleus of the resident group.

^bDefined as one in which a group of persons of the same sex share a residence and household responsibilities.

^cIncludes single-person, nondormitory households.

Characteristics of the FSM Households on Guam

The results of our household survey on Guam revealed significant differences in the composition and structure of the communities that the new arrivals from FSM form (see Table 7). Some of the new households are built around a family group and their structure differs little from what it would be in Truk, Pohnpei, or anywhere else in Micronesia. One Yapese in his twenties shares a house with his Trukese wife and their two children as well as three older relatives of his wife and several of his Yapese friends. A Yapese couple in their forties provide for their six children, all but one of whom are in school, as well as six others who are related to either the man or his wife. These households often depend on the income of only one or two wage earners and have the usual trouble making ends meet, especially when kinfolk in any number unexpectedly descend on them for a long stay on Guam. But these problems, normal ones for any Micronesian family, are offset by the clear lines of authority that exist in such households. Everyone in the household knows who is in charge, even if the head is sometimes inhibited from exercising his authority as fully as he might like for cultural reasons. As the family

sinks roots in its new home, it will gradually summon more of its children to Guam to attend school, and family life will come to resemble what it was back home.

The composition of many of the Micronesian households on Guam, however, is far less stable. Slightly more than half of the 101 FSM households surveyed were composed almost entirely of young people, usually in their twenties and often related or at least from the same island, who banded together under the same roof in a commune-type arrangement.¹⁵ One such group from Nomwin, an atoll north of Truk, has six of its members working, most as security guards; in another from Puluwat four of the six young males work at a fast-food steakhouse. Households of this type, which can have as many as ten or twelve members, usually experience more serious problems, as we might easily imagine. Since the males in the household are roughly the same age, it is not an easy matter for one of them to assume a leadership role, even when he happens to be the single source of income. Normally, however, several have jobs and contribute to the support of the group, but each hesitates to impose any regimen on his peers. Even ordinary care and cleaning of the house is often overlooked, and life in the household is sometimes just a bit short of the anarchic. People drift in and out of these houses regularly. Older relatives or friends from home may come to Guam, even if they do not speak English and lack the skills to find a job, just to sample life in the city. The young people who belong to these communes often leave for better surroundings and a new household as soon as the opportunity arises. These households are provisional and their members are experimenting to work out viable authority structures in a setting that is still alien to them. The wonder is that amid such chaotic conditions Micronesians are able to make a successful adjustment to their new surroundings; yet some do. One group of bachelors learned to control their partying, budget their money, and take turns cooking and cleaning; they now live in a well-managed household and own six cars, all of them paid for and insured.

The migrant communities from different states appear to have their own characteristics, to judge from the household survey. The newcomers from Yap and Kosrae are unusually young—very few are older than their early thirties—and they show a strong tendency to reside in the kind of peer-group households described above (see Table 7). About two-thirds of the sample from both states were living in communities made up entirely of young people their own age. Another feature of these households is that most of their members are occupied either with a job or schooling. The number of dependents is very low in these house-

holds; well over half the Yapese surveyed and nearly two-thirds of the Kosraeans had full-time employment (see Table 1). These same characteristics are shared by the immigrants from some of the islands in Truk, especially Uman and the outlying atolls of the Mortlocks, Westerns, and Halls (see Table 7). On the other hand, Pohnpeians and most of the lagoon Trukeese show a strong leaning toward more structured, family-like households. Such households, while less prone to conflict and better regulated, have a larger number of nonproductive members. Less than 20 percent of the Pohnpeians surveyed had wage employment. Among Trukeese from lagoon islands the percentage employed was almost 40, much higher than for Pohnpei but considerably below the Kosrae and Yap samples. Overall, the FSM households that have sprung up on Guam can be described as economically "lean" in household composition as well as in earnings. There are as yet very few dependents in these new households, especially when compared with the average family size in the FSM, although this will undoubtedly change in the years ahead.

Given the adjustments the emigrants must make and the relative lack of supervision in their lives, it is no surprise that they have come to be regarded as troublemakers by long-time residents on Guam. Their all-night drinking bouts and their drunken-driving arrests, among other things, have been well-publicized and are a source of some concern to FSM government officials no less than to Guamanians. Police figures show that about 6 percent of all arrests made on Guam during 1987 were of FSM citizens, who at that time represented only slightly more than 1 percent of Guam's civilian population (Government of Guam 1987: table 4.2). Most of the crimes seem to have been alcohol related and fell under the categories of driving while intoxicated, disorderly conduct, assault, and larceny. The disproportionate arrest rate of FSM citizens may look worse than it really is, since a great number of the new Micronesian arrivals on Guam are young males in the troublesome 15 to 35 age bracket and the crimes they commit are the explosive and foolish acts likely to occur after a drinking party has gone on too long. Nonetheless, the police figures do indicate the distance that transplanted Micronesians still must go before they have completely adjusted to life in their new surroundings.

The Significance of Recent Emigration

The extent of recent emigration to Guam and the Northern Marianas in the past few years has been unparalleled in the postwar history of central Micronesia. If the estimates proposed in this article are accepted—a

resident FSM population in the Northern Marianas of 1,400 and a movement of 1,700 FSM citizens to Guam in two years—it would appear that about 3,000 FSM citizens have migrated north since 1982. A few of the FSM people living on Saipan are very likely former Trust Territory employees who chose to remain, but the great majority are recent arrivals. Although it is impossible to assign exact numbers to the annual outflow, our estimates suggest that the emigration rate has increased from perhaps 300 a year to the CNMI in the period 1983–1986 to about 700–800 yearly to Guam during 1986–1988.

On the basis of an estimated total FSM population of 100,000, the annual outflow during the past two years would represent 0.7 percent of the population. In some areas like Truk, however, the emigration rate is over 1 percent a year, as we have seen. The extent of population leakage to Hawaii and the US mainland in recent years is unknown, but when added to the migration northward it could bring the overall emigration rate from FSM to something approaching 1 percent annually.

Although the high emigration of late is clearly rooted in economic motives, the choice of Guam and the Marianas as destinations seems to be based on factors other than the mere availability of jobs. Part of the appeal of Guam and the CNMI as work sites is their proximity to the FSM, thus allowing emigrants to maintain fairly close contact with home and to visit relatives there from time to time. One has only to be standing in the Truk or Pohnpei airport on a Friday or Sunday evening as the turnaround flight from Guam disgorges its passengers to realize that the traffic between FSM and Guam is unmistakably two-way. There is a great deal of shuttling back and forth, as would be expected of a people whose ties with family and birthplace remain as strong as Micronesians' do. This circular flow resembles that of Samoans between their islands and the western US except that much smaller distances in the Micronesian circuit encourage more frequent visits home.

Few of those who have left for Guam or the Northern Marianas regard themselves as permanent emigrants. Most profess the desire to return after earning enough money; few envision themselves retiring in their new home. In this respect recent emigrants are much like the outer islanders who moved into the district centers in search of jobs during the expansionist era of the 1960s and early 1970s. Yet there are indications that increasingly more are bringing their children to enroll them in the Guam and CNMI schools for the better education they supposedly offer. Children raised in Guam may find it as difficult to return permanently to their home island as young outer islanders raised in the glitter of the FSM's port towns.

To refer to this emigration to Guam and the CNMI as a "brain drain" is misleading. Those who have left the FSM for the north are not the best and the brightest, the most creative and energetic individuals. In fact, they are often those whose job prospects at home are unpromising because they cannot hope to compete with their better educated and more talented peers. The most competent of the high school and college graduates would generally prefer to stay at home and take a decent job with their own government if they could. It is the others, those who cannot count on jobs at home, who fly off to Guam and Saipan for lower-level work.

Finally, there is an undeniable economic significance to the recent emigration from FSM. An estimated 700 citizens of FSM who would otherwise not be working were able to obtain paying jobs on Guam, and possibly almost as many have found salaried employment in the Northern Marianas. There is no reason why this figure should not grow each year, given the economic prosperity of the areas to the north. Yet the economic impact is still more potential than actual. If emigration continues to accelerate, the prodigious population growth of the FSM will be slowed and could eventually decline to zero, as Palau's has for the past fifteen years (Hezel and Levin 1989). Not only would the cost of government rise much less steeply if the population was stable, but economic planners could count on a considerable source of income from the remittances sent back to their families by overseas workers. The beginning of a sizable remittance component may ultimately prove to be the single biggest boost to the FSM's flagging economy.

NOTES

1. The article cited here (Hezel and Levin 1989) has been used several times in this article since it presented a summary of emigration from FSM, Palau, and the Marshalls prior to the start of the large-scale emigration described in this article.

2. Population data is from unpublished figures issued by the FSM Office of Planning and Statistics, Pohnpei. These figures represent population projections for 1989.

3. These quarterly surveys are conducted by the Guam Labor Department, Bureau of Statistics, and issued in computer printout form as Report No. 18-711.

4. The 20 percent figure for dependents under the age of sixteen is, of course, far smaller than the corresponding figure for FSM residents; the latter figure is close to 50 percent. The estimate of 20 percent was derived from samples of several emigrant households in which both the total size of the household and the number of young dependents were known.

5. The survey of these sample populations in Truk was done by one of the authors. The size of each community is small enough so that nearly any resident would be able to list virtually all recent emigrants. Population of these two communities was extrapolated from 1973 census data in Truk.
6. This estimate of the size of the Marshallese population on Guam was derived from data obtained in our household survey, which included Marshallese.
7. Recent FSM arrivals on Guam are known among local people as "Trukese" because of the preponderance of migrants from that state. Similarly, in former years all Micronesians were termed "Palauans."
8. The estimate of the size of the Palauan and Marshallese communities in CNMI was derived, like the size of the FSM population, from the number of dependents in elementary and high schools. These numbers were 247 and 24 for Palau and the Marshalls respectively.
9. It may be worth noting that these estimates, as crude as they are, were confirmed by a number of knowledgeable individuals on the island as well as by recent FSM voter-registration lists.
10. Marianas Visitors Bureau announced this in its periodic news bulletin for January 1989.
11. Information supplied in an interview with Jun Ha, owner of the largest garment factory.
12. Information provided by Federal Program Office, CNMI.
13. The latest figure in Stewart (1988:132-133) is 11,654 foreign workers in 1986. The Immigration Department for CNMI, however, records over 15,000 applications for non-resident work permits in 1988.
14. Information supplied by the personnel director of the Nikko Saipan in October 1988.
15. The authors are grateful to Donald Rubinstein, director of the Micronesian Area Research Center, for his helpful observations on peer-group households.

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CUSTOM, PLURALISM, AND REALISM IN VANUATU: LEGAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF CUSTOMARY LAW

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Most Pacific Island states are now developing modern legal systems that to some degree incorporate elements of indigenous customary law into the formal Western-style systems imposed during the colonial era (see, for example, Weisbrot 1982b). There are also a number of countries—mainly in Africa and Asia—where the legal systems have had to cope with multiple colonial laws owing to a succession of colonial powers (see, for example, Hooker 1975:466–473). In Vanuatu however, the combination of a remarkable colonial history, a multiplicity of local cultures, and a determined effort at decolonization and constitutional development has resulted in a unique experiment in legal pluralism.

The condominium form of colonial governance, by which France and Britain jointly ruled the New Hebrides (as Vanuatu was then called), was organized on the basis of equality of government and co-existence of the respective jurisdictions. This sometimes took on comic opera aspects, as in the requirement that the British and French flagpoles be of identical height and that the flags be raised simultaneously (Ellis and Parsons 1983:118). More fundamentally, the separate-but-equal policy led to separate educational systems (mainly mission-based), police forces, and medical services as well as two national anthems, two currencies, and three official languages, producing a rule “so inefficient and cumbersome that it was popularly known as the Pan-

demonium. The Vanuatu people were neither consulted in its establishment nor involved in its operation" (Molisa et al. 1982:85).

In a territory in which there was already two of everything, schizophrenia would, perhaps, require the manifestation of quadruple personalities—and indeed the colonial legal order in the New Hebrides did so, accommodating French civil law, British common law, joint or condominium law, and indigenous customary law. The difficult task for the present government of Vanuatu is to fashion a coherent and appropriate legal system out of the chaotic colonial legacy.

The Colonial Condominium

The first European contact with Vanuatu came in 1606, but there were few visits from Europeans, even from the relatively proximate Australian colonies, until the 1840s when traders and missionaries began to arrive in force, particularly in the southern islands (Howe 1984:282).¹ Imperial partition came relatively late to Melanesia, but gathered momentum owing to European rivalries half the world away, with annexation moves aptly described as "incidental means of regulating the disorderly process of investment, land confiscation, and labour recruiting through the clientage networks already established in the islands" (Newbury 1980:23).

Pressure from within the New Hebrides for colonial annexation began in 1857, when chiefs of Aneityum island were prompted by the influential missions to petition Queen Victoria to establish a protectorate, to counter fears of French aggression from New Caledonia (Brooks 1941:239–240, 247). The churches continued to pressure Britain for protection for several decades (Standish 1984:131).

Beginning in the 1870s French settlers in New Caledonia also pressured their government to annex the neighboring New Hebrides, notwithstanding the fact that most settlers and almost all missionaries there were British (Brooks 1941:405). French migration into the New Hebrides was steadily increasing, however, and considerable landholdings were being amassed; by the 1930s there were ten French settlers for every British settler (Standish 1984:132). The essential nature of the British and French presence differed as well, with the British principally "interested in souls and the French in land" (Hours 1979:15).

In 1878 the British and French governments exchanged notes undertaking to leave unchanged the "independence" of the group. This did not allay the security fears of the settlers and missionaries in the New Hebrides or of the British colonists in Australia and New Zealand, how-

ever, who continued to lobby for a more conclusive arrangement. In 1886 France and Britain began negotiations regarding a system of joint police surveillance, leading to the Convention of 16 November 1887, which constituted a Joint Naval Commission with responsibility for protecting the nationals and interests of those two powers in the New Hebrides. The commission provided some measure of physical security, but failed to provide any administration, civil or commercial law (as land development companies boomed and busted), or investment security (O'Connell 1969:73-75).

In 1904 an Anglo-French declaration raised the notion of a "sphere of joint influence" and laid the groundwork for the Condominium, which was established by the Convention of 1906, ratified 9 January 1907. The convention merely added a number of joint services to those separately provided by the metropolitan powers and established a system of joint courts to deal with matters outside the separate national systems. The administration of justice operated poorly under this regime, and "was often as not ridiculed by the European population, and scandals and abuses multiplied" (O'Connell 1969:76). Further British-French negotiations resulted in the London Protocol of 1914, which together with the 1906 convention served as the constitution of the Condominium.²

In the Condominium, each of the two powers "[retained] sovereignty over its nationals and over corporations legally constituted according to its law" (O'Connell 1969:92). Accordingly, the British and French established separate systems of judicial administration, each with jurisdiction over its own nationals.³ Persons present in the Condominium who were neither British, French, nor indigenous were required to opt for either the British or French legal system within one month of arrival, and were known as British or French "optants." Once made the choice was final. Persons who failed to opt were assigned to one system or other by a joint decision of the two resident commissioners, with "the governing consideration . . . whether the individual's neighbours [were] British or French" (O'Connell 1969:95). The determination of whether a matter went to the French or British courts was rather less clear. In criminal matters, the governing factor was the nationality (or ascribed nationality) of the defendant, normally straightforward except in the case of multiple offenders. Civil matters were more problematic, since English and French conflict of laws regimes do not mesh (O'Connell 1969:127-129).

The jurisdiction assumed by the Condominium to legislate for the indigenous population may be somewhat at odds with the constitutive documents of the Condominium. As O'Connell has stated:

The effect of the Convention and Protocol was to subject the natives of the New Hebrides to an administrative regime while depriving them of the possibility of attaining equal civil status with the Europeans in the Group. It was, of course, envisaged that the natives would remain under the customary jurisdiction of the chiefs, and that all they would need would be protection against exploitation by whites, and against the aggression of each other. To this end they would be regulated by two separate texts, the provisions of the Protocol concerning native labour and the codification of native law. (1969:134)

The Condominium, however, did directly regulate native affairs. The source of this legislative power over the indigenous population was Article VIII(3) of the London Protocol of 1914, which differs materially in the English and French versions. The English text reads: "The High Commissioners and Resident Commissioners shall have authority over the native chiefs. They shall have power to make administrative and police regulations *binding on the tribes*, and to provide for their enforcement" (emphasis added). The French text reads: "Les Hauts Commissaires et les Commissaires-Residents auront autorité sur les Chefs des tribus indigènes. Ils auront, *en ce qui concerne ces tribus*, le pouvoir d'édicter des règlements d'administration et de police et d'en assurer l'exécution" (emphasis added).

The emphasized phrases clearly do not correspond; the French version is closer to the spirit of the original understanding about indirect colonial rule, while the English version does seem to permit legislation regulating individual indigenous inhabitants (O'Connell 1969:96-97; see also Hooker 1975:474). In practice, the Condominium operated under the English version. For example, a Native Criminal Code was promulgated.⁴ Indeed, some Condominium initiatives seemed to be aimed at undermining, rather than regulating, tribal organization and chiefly powers. No provisions regulated civil actions between indigenes or the rights of indigenes to form companies, to register a boat, or even (until 1967) to register births, deaths, and marriages (O'Connell 1969:136).

The protocol directed Condominium officials to "cause a collection of native laws and customs to be made," and customary law (where not contrary to the dictates of humanity and the maintenance of order) "should be utilised for the preparation of a code of native law, both civil and penal" (Art. VIII[4]). There is no indication, however, that such a project was undertaken; the Native Criminal Code, for example, was

based entirely on French and British jurisprudence (O'Connell 1969: 136; Pujol 1956:336).

Apart from the recognition of the dual national systems in the New Hebrides, the Condominium also provided for joint services and administration in such areas as postal and telegraphic services, public works, ports and harbors administration, public health, financial administration, land surveying and registration, and meteorology. The Condominium administration's policy of evenhandedness between French and British interests resulted in a rigid appointments policy in which department heads and their deputies were of different nationalities, and care was taken to ensure that control of the various departments was balanced. Thus the heads of treasury, postal services, radio, and meteorology were British; the heads of the auditor's department, mines, surveys, agriculture, and public works were French (O'Connell 1969:95, 101).

The London Protocol of 1914 also established a Joint Court for Condominium matters (Art. X). The three-person Joint Court was to be composed of the British and French judges who headed up their respective national jurisdictions, as well as a neutral president to be appointed by the king of Spain.⁵ This Spanish involvement ceased with the advent of the fascist Nationalist government of Spain, and in late 1939 the British and French agreed to vest the president's authority and functions in the judges acting jointly. The absence of a tiebreaker meant that the British and French judges had to engage in a measure of negotiation and compromise, and in the event of a disagreement, "go arm in arm and metamorphose themselves into an arbitrator of their respective differences on th[e] issue" (O'Connell 1969:124).

Although the Joint Court had jurisdiction over all Condominium matters,⁶ its *raison d'être* was to minimize conflict among the European settlers over the grab for land (Scarr 1967:218).⁷ By 1980 the Joint Court had issued fourteen hundred judgments involving registration of European land claims, accounting for over 20 percent of Vanuatu's total land area. Of the settled land claims, French titleholders (including optants, missions, and government holdings) acquired over three times as much land as the British; counting controversial titles, the French controlled nearly five times as much land (Van Trease 1984:22-24, tables 1-3; Cole 1986:10).

The legal bases for the awarding of title by the Joint Court were often indefensible in terms of *either* settled English or French property law, "but by combining a little law from each with a lot of imagination, France, the major gainer, [came] up with registered title to about one half of the really fertile land in the New Hebrides" (Sope 1974:17).⁸ The

Joint Court often awarded land title to Europeans on the basis of "flimsy . . . nineteenth century 'contracts', on which a few indigenous people had placed thumb prints or 'x's. These claims were not recognised under Melanesian custom . . . however" (Standish 1984:132). This had the effect of legalizing fraudulent land dealings by some unscrupulous Europeans and mistaken land dealings in which indigenous "vendors" were unaware of the nature of the transaction and unable to understand the written contracts (Regenvanu 1980:69; Sope 1974:13-15). A Condominium administration survey in 1970 established that European residents in the New Hebrides, amounting to 3 percent of the total population, controlled 36 percent of the land, including more than half of all arable land (Sope 1974:19).

The Joint Court was directed by the protocol to take into account the interests of the indigenous population in the granting of land (O'Connell 1969:141). The post of Native Advocate was created, but was never a sufficient safeguard owing to problems of expertise, conflicts of interest, and financial and logistical support. The Joint Court also required written documentation of claims by ni-Vanuatu, which was practically unobtainable (Van Trease 1984:24-27).

The Joint Court and the resident commissioners also had the power to set aside land as "native reserves," which could not be alienated without authority of the court or commissioners. This, however, did not adequately safeguard the interests of the local population either:

The Protocol did not give any guidelines for allocating size or determining need. Such decisions were left to the judgment of the Court. Over the years the Court did indeed become more generous in its allocation of native reserves. However, in many cases the reserves proved to be inadequate for the needs of the local population. In addition, the Court often designated the less desirable land in the interior of islands as native reserves, while registering the coastal section in favour of the European claimant. (Van Trease 1984:24; see also Sope 1974:17-19)

Movement toward Independence

Not surprisingly, land grabs, fraud, and speculation during the colonial period provoked unrest and stimulated nationalist political movements. The dominant Vanua'aku Pati (literally, "My Land Party") was established specifically in reaction to this situation, and the return of customary land was the party's basic political platform as well as that of the Nagriamel Movement and other nationalist movements.⁹

This situation became more heated in the late 1960s, when American real estate developers (mainly based in Hawaii) sought to acquire large tracts of land for subdivision and sale, while a group of American ultra-conservative businessmen known as the Phoenix Foundation sought to acquire territory to establish a libertarian mini-state, after failed attempts in the Bahamas and Tonga. Several thousand lots were sold to Americans, mainly Hawaii residents and American servicemen stationed in Japan, Taiwan, South Vietnam and the Pacific Islands.¹⁰ (Ironically, the island of Ambae was the inspiration for James Michener's heaven-on-earth, Bali Hai, in *South Pacific*.)

Local fears of a second generation of land-grabbing and resentment over the large-scale proposed developments prompted the two resident commissioners to act in August 1971, bringing in regulations (retroactive to January 1967) to control the subdivision of land and impose a value-added tax on certain subdivisions.¹¹ This action caused some division, with many resident Europeans angered over lost business opportunities, while a large delegation of indigenes took the unusual step of demonstrating in *favor* of the colonial administration.

The tide of decolonization, which had already swept through Africa and Asia in the 1960s, came later to the Pacific and gathered momentum in the 1970s, first in Polynesia and then in Melanesia (see generally Davidson 1971 and Larmour 1983). In Vanuatu, disengagement was much easier for the British, for the paternalistic nature of British colonial administration and race relations had left only a "thin super-stratum lacking close ties to the indigenous population" (Kolig 1981:58). For the French, extrication was more difficult as their policies of assimilation and association led to a "much higher degree of interpenetration" between the French and indigenous communities (Kolig 1981:58), and of course many French citizens had land and businesses in the New Hebrides.¹² No doubt the French were also sensitive to the effects of the winds of change on New Caledonia and French Polynesia. Apart from the general reluctance of France to decolonize, there was strong, direct pressure from the local French settlers (*colons*), some of whom had come to the Pacific after the French debacles in Vietnam and Algeria (Molisa et al. 1982:86-96; Lini 1980:18, 51-59).

The main pro-independence party was the Vanua'aku Pati, which had its roots in the English-speaking Protestant (Anglican and Presbyterian) mission system. The missions, which were also the main providers of education and social welfare services, served to unify the scattered rural population and provide a "natural foundation for political action on a national basis" (Ellis and Parsons 1983:117). The Vanua'aku Pati, led by a Western-educated political elite, was ideologically a Western-

style liberal political party, with "a smattering of Marxist ideology" on such matters as land nationalization, foreign trade, and major resources (Kolig 1981:58; see also Ellis and Parsons 1983:115). Of the major political movements it displayed the least commitment to traditional custom.

To counter the influence of the Vanua'aku Pati, the French attempted to cultivate (and materially assisted) a coalition of all groups outside the Vanua'aku sphere of influence: the *colons*, francophonic and Catholic indigenes, and return-to-custom movements such as Nagriamel on Santo and John Frum on Tanna (Ellis and Parsons 1983:118–119). This coalition of disparate—and sometimes antagonistic—elements was unsuccessful, however, as Vanua'aku and the other nationalist political parties won overwhelming support in 1975 and 1979 elections for the local representative assembly, even achieving majorities on Santo and Tanna islands (Molisa et al. 1982:87–88, 93–94).

In late 1979 and early 1980, on the eve of independence, secessionist movements presented a considerable threat to the emerging nation. The secessionist forces comprised the odd admixture of armed French *colons* and the traditionalist *kastom* groups, with moral and material support from American developers and conservative ideologues, and with the (at least) tacit support of France. The rebellions were most serious on Santo and Tanna, and were ultimately quelled just after independence only with the assistance of troops from the Papua New Guinea Defence Force upon the authorization of the South Pacific Forum (Molisa et al. 1982:95–96, 108–110).¹³

The rebellions and their aftermath again highlighted the contradictory nature of legal and political development in the colonial New Hebrides. The Santo Rebellion was led by the charismatic Jimmy Stephen, founder of the Nagriamel Movement, which was dedicated to the recovery of alienated customary land, self-help development, and the restoration of *kastom* and traditional culture as the bases of law and government (Lini 1980:47–48; Sope 1974:26–33; Kolig 1981:59–60). The indigenous secessionists on Tanna were associated with the well-known John Frum Movement, also a traditionalist group with a strong emphasis on customary law and land tenure (Sope 1974:22–25; see also Brunton 1981:357, 371–374). In opposing the modernism and centralization they feared from the independent state, the *kastom* groups were forced to align themselves with the European settlers and American businessmen who were seeking to maintain and expand the alienation of customary land. This apparently incongruous alliance of millenarian Melanesians and libertarian Americans may possibly be best explained as the marriage of two culturally distinct forms of cargo cult.

The stillborn "Constitution of the Tanna Federation" attempted to provide for both libertarian and traditionalist concerns. The preamble called for only a "limited form of government," and the constitution affirmed the sanctity of private contract¹⁴ and recognized corporations in a declaration of rights.¹⁵ At the same time, the customary resolution of disputes outside the formal legal system was recognized;¹⁶ "custom chiefs" were given a formal role in the determination of political and judicial boundaries;¹⁷ and "traditional items used for media of exchange" were also recognized,¹⁸ although the monetary jurisdiction of the courts was specified in "troy ounces of gold."¹⁹ The incipient constitution also contained at least one inherent conflict of interests and principles. While prohibiting any direct tax,²⁰ it provided that the funding for the government's operations would come from the leasing of customary land.²¹

The proposed "Constitution of the Na-Griamel Federation" on Santo did not expressly recognize customary law or institutions, but rather seemed to presume that strict limits on central government activity would provide communities with the opportunity to maintain their own "laws, customs and traditions" (see Doorn 1979:7; see also Larmour 1982:141). This constitution also threatened customary land by providing that any person could acquire land by "staking a claim [to land] that has not yet been registered as belonging to someone . . ." (Chap. 1, sec. 42).

As with most existing Pacific constitutions, these failed constitutions seemed to accept as unproblematic the coexistence of group-based customary law and individuated civil rights; unlike most Pacific constitutions they failed to provide safeguards for customary land. The alliance between the *kastom* groups and their expatriate patrons seemed "destined to culminate in a sell-out of land and the surrender of political, economic and cultural autonomy" (Kolig 1981:60). Ironically, the victory of the "non-traditional" Vanua'aku Pati and the suppression of the rebellions proved instrumental in salvaging the interests of the traditional landowners of Vanuatu (Kolig 1981:60-61).

The Independence Constitution

The Vanuatu Constitution was drafted by a Constitutional Planning Committee, which included representatives from all political parties (including secessionist groups from Santo and Tanna), the churches, and traditional chiefs. In the Melanesian fashion no votes were taken, and a consensus was reached on all the main issues (see Bernast 1980; see also Molisa et al. 1982:92-93). Having satisfied French concerns

regarding decentralization of political power,²² proportional representation to protect minority groups, and preservation of French as an official language and a medium of education,²³ the proposed constitution was approved by the two resident commissioners and their home governments in 1979. Official texts are available in both French and English.

The Vanuatu Constitution is fairly concise and straightforward, particularly as compared with its Papua New Guinea counterpart. Apart from establishing the framework of government, the largely programmatic Constitution also contains provisions of particular importance to legal development and pluralism (see generally Lynch 1981 and Bernast 1980:193–199).

Constitutionally, legislative power in Vanuatu is vested in a popularly elected unicameral Parliament with “an element of proportional representation so as to ensure fair representation of different political groups and opinions” (Chap. 4, sec. 17[1]). The Constitution also provides a role for the National Council of Chiefs (Chap. 5, secs. 27–30). Sec. 28 specifies that:

(1) The National Council of Chiefs has a general competence to discuss all matters relating to custom and tradition and may make recommendations for the preservation and promotion of Vanuatuan culture and languages.

(2) The Council may be consulted on any question, particularly any question relating to tradition and custom, in connection with any bill before Parliament.

Custom is also provided for in Chap. 8 of the Constitution, which concerns the administration of justice. The judiciary may resolve a controversy, in the absence of existing applicable law, “according to substantial justice *and whenever possible in conformity with custom*” (sec. 45; emphasis added). Thus the Constitution mandates that custom is the principal source in the development of an appropriate underlying law for Vanuatu. Sec. 49 provides that Parliament *may* enact legislation concerning “the ascertainment of relevant rules of custom” and the appointment of assessors knowledgeable in custom to sit with the judges. No legislation on this subject has emerged yet, however.²⁴ Sec. 50 requires Parliament to establish a system of village or island courts “with jurisdiction over customary and other matters and shall provide for the role of chiefs in such courts.” A system of island courts has, in fact, been established (see below).²⁵

Transitional provisions of the Constitution affirm that customary law "shall continue to have effect as part of the law of the Republic" (Chap. 15, sec. 93[3]). Further, the reception of pre-independence British and French laws is expressly made subject to compatibility with the independent status of Vanuatu "and wherever possible taking due account of custom" (Chap. 15, sec. 93[2]). This provision contrasts markedly with arrangements in other independent Pacific Island states, wherein the recognition of customary law is made subject to compatibility with written (including received colonial) law, rather than vice versa.²⁶

Given the colonial history of Vanuatu and the basis of the independence movement (and indeed, even the *anti*-independence parties), it was inevitable that land tenure (and the related topic of ownership) would be one of the preeminent issues before the Constitutional Planning Committee. After some negotiation, particularly over urban land (Bernast 1980:195), the committee unanimously supported the provisions that were to become Chap. 12 of the Constitution. As Ghai has written, the nature and strength of this action amounted to "an emphatic affirmation of the values of the customary system. As such they imply an alternative paradigm of development, based on communities rather than the state" (1985a:179).

Chap. 12 of the Constitution, on land, followed recommendations from the 1979 Ad Hoc Committee on Law Reform and implemented a fundamental transformation of the colonial land tenure system by reverting to the customary position:

While the approach invariably taken elsewhere in the Pacific was simply to facilitate the future introduction of reforming laws, Vanuatu's approach has been to go behind the whole land tenure system imposed during the colonial era and reinstate the pre-colonial land tenure system. It did this by probably the only means available to a country which adheres to rule of law principles, that is by accomplishing it under its Independence Constitution. (Fingleton 1982:338, see also 323, 327)

Sec. 71 states simply, "All land in the Republic belongs to the indigenous custom owners and their descendants." Furthermore, "[t]he rules of custom shall form the basis of ownership and use of land in the Republic" (sec. 72), and only indigenous citizens "who have acquired their land in accordance with a recognised system of land tenure shall have perpetual ownership of their lands" (sec. 73). The Council of Chiefs is to be consulted by Parliament in the drafting of a national land law implement-

ing the above principles, under sec. 74. Disputes over ownership of customary land are to be resolved by "appropriate customary institutions or procedures" as arranged by the government (sec. 76[2]). Considerations of custom, ethnicity, linguistics, and geography are also to be taken into account in any public-land redistribution.²⁷

Land transactions between ni-Vanuatu and nonindigenous citizens or noncitizens require government consent under sec. 77(1) of the Constitution. Such consent shall be given unless the transaction is deemed to be prejudicial to the interests of the custom owner(s) of the land, or indigenous citizens who are nonowners, or the community in which the land is located, or the republic generally.²⁸ Leasing of customary land is possible, then, with government compliance in the specified cases, and leaseholds have already attracted foreign investment.

Pluralism in Practice

In the Formal Courts

In conjunction with Chap. 8 of the Constitution, the Vanuatu Courts Regulation of 15 July 1980 establishes the system of mainly Western-style courts currently in use. The magistrates courts deal with relatively minor criminal (up to two years' imprisonment) and civil matters. The Supreme Court, presided over by a single judge, is the major trial-level court as well as the appellate court from decisions of the magistrates courts. The Supreme Court sits with two assessors, who have a deliberative but not adjudicative role.²⁹ Given that there has been only one judge in Vanuatu, the chief justice,³⁰ the Court of Appeal sits on an ad hoc basis and is arranged by the chief justice when necessary,³¹ relying on visiting justices from neighboring jurisdictions. Continuing the Condominium tradition there is usually one English common law judge and one French civil law judge.

The 1980 regulation gives the courts broad powers to meet local circumstances: "For the purpose of facilitating the application of any written law or custom, any provision may be construed or used with such alterations and adaptations as necessary and every court shall have inherent and incidental powers as may be reasonably required in order to properly apply such written law or custom" (sec. 44[2]). Unfortunately little evidence is available to determine whether the courts are utilizing these powers. One indication of a sympathetic approach is found in the case of *Jonah Robert Namatak v Public Prosecutor* (unreported, Vanuatu Court of Appeal Case No. 7 of 1985) in which the con-

struction of the definition of "theft" in the Vanuatu Penal Code 1981, sec. 122(1)–(2), was at issue. At trial, the defense counsel noted that the wording of the Vanuatu provision was indetical to sec. 1(1)–(2) of the English Larceny Act 1916, and proceeded to adduce a large number of English cases on the point. The Vanuatu Court of Appeal, however, sought to discourage this practice and wrote:

We do observe that Vanuatu has its own Penal Code. No matter what laws the draftsmen used for guidance, they are nevertheless to be construed in Vanuatu and against its background and not the learned lawyer's references to interpretations of similar enactments in foreign countries with much different standards and cultures. . . .

We are in a newly emerging nation which was jointly administered by France and England according to French and English laws. Vanuatu no longer relies upon westernised sophistication and must develop its own approach. The Courts should not be quick to grasp at hair-splitting technicalities. At the same time, they should never endeavour to "manufacture laws" to cover some difficult situation unless they keep within the provisions of the Constitution. (At pp. 2–3)

A major obstacle to legal development of any kind in Vanuatu is the paucity of primary legal materials and the virtual absence of secondary materials. There is no formal law reporting system, even for the superior courts, nor is there even any digest or index of judgments. A lawyer or researcher attempting to trace the development of an area of law must either rely on memory or anecdote, or mechanically search every file in the Supreme Court registry in Port Vila. Naturally this works against the coherent development of a local jurisprudence. It is far easier to ascertain English or Australian common law in Vanuatu than it is to ascertain Vanuatu common law or custom.

As already noted, there are general statements found in the Constitution about the role of custom, culture, and traditional values, and custom is specifically employed as the basis of land tenure. Although sec. 49 of the Constitution calls for parliamentary action regarding the promulgation of rules for the ascertainment, recognition, and application of customary law, no general legislation of this sort has eventuated. While the Island Courts Act 1983 specifies the role of custom in those quasi-traditional institutions (see below), nothing provides guidance on the process of integrating custom into the Western-style court system.

Missing are: (1) the definition of "custom," (2) the subject areas in which custom is or is not applicable, (3) the modes of ascertainment and rules of evidence and procedure with respect to adducing custom in the courts, (4) an elaboration of the standards against which the recognition of custom must first be tested,³² (5) the regime to be followed in the event of a conflict of customary laws, (6) the method by which a person must establish (or refute) membership in a customary group, and so on.

The experience elsewhere in the Pacific suggests that in the absence of strong guidelines and incentives to utilize custom it is very difficult for customary law to develop in a coherent and comprehensive manner (see Weisbrot 1982b, 1988). One major aid to the recognition of customary law in Vanuatu is the use of assessors, but further assistance is likely to be necessary if Vanuatu is to have an integrated pluralist system rather than a dual system (as is largely the case in Papua New Guinea).

The legislative base in Vanuatu is also very diverse and in desperate need of consolidation and revision. As noted above, pre-independence British and French laws applicable in the Condominium were rolled over by sec. 93(2) of the Constitution and are part of the laws of the republic. The pre-independence Joint Regulations, or "Condominium Law," also form part of the new law.³³ These cover areas in which the dual administration was required to present a unified legal regime, such as in regulation of motor traffic, drugs, shipping, customs, and quarantine; public order and policing; radio communications; and town planning and conservation. The Parliament has also, of course, been enacting legislation for the republic since independence. Discussions with local lawyers suggest that there is considerable uncertainty over which pre-independence foreign laws are still in operation, and to what extent, especially where there is some dissonance but not quite direct conflict with later law.

The perennial problem of "finding the law" also takes on a special meaning in Vanuatu, where legislation is often physically unavailable, even in the capital and even to the most senior officials. There is no formal legal depository in Vanuatu and thus no complete collection of written laws.³⁴ A good example of the problem is the case of *Public Prosecutor v Mahit Tom Mathias* (unreported, Vanuatu Court of Appeal Case No. 3A of 1984), involving the sentencing of an offender for theft and unlawful entry. At trial, counsel and the chief justice were unable to find any statutory provisions governing suspension of sentences and alternative penalties. The chief justice then proceeded to formulate a new rule of underlying law under sec. 45(1) of the Constitution, in the belief that there was no relevant existing law. On appeal, the Court of Appeal found that there was in fact a relevant law, Joint Regulation

No. 24 of 1971, which covered the situation. The Court of Appeal lamented the absence of properly printed, bound, and published statutes and cases, noting that legal materials in Vanuatu are “scarce and precious to those possessing them. Parts of some files are missing in some departments. Finding the law applicable requires expenditure of valuable time” (at p. 2).

French Jurisprudence

Notwithstanding the constitutional position on the sources of law,³⁵ as a practical matter there is some doubt about the continued development—even viability—of the French strand of Vanuatu jurisprudence. Of the nine ni-Vanuatu lawyers as of January 1988, seven are English-speaking and were trained in the English common law tradition, most of them receiving their law degrees from the University of Papua New Guinea. These lawyers are mainly found in the Attorney-General’s Office and provide legal advice to the government and governmental agencies.

Virtually all lawyers in private practice are anglophone expatriates—mostly from Australia and New Zealand—and the laws applicable to the tax haven/offshore banking finance center (such as the Companies, Trust Companies, and Banking regulations) are based on English law (similar to the regime in the Bahamas), while the flag of convenience maritime law is based on the nonstatutory maritime law of the United States. Business associations in Vanuatu may still be formed under French law, but commercial law generally follows common law models and is largely run by anglophone lawyers. Similarly, the judicial officers in Vanuatu mainly have common law backgrounds. All three senior magistrates are anglophone expatriates, and the single judge of the Supreme Court is British.

French legal materials are almost nonexistent. Local legend has it that French officials burned all of their papers on the eve of independence in 1980. More likely the papers were repatriated to France. In any event, there are no French legal materials left in the Supreme Court Library or the National Archives.

The Island Courts

The Island Courts Act 1983³⁶ established a system of grass-roots, customary-based courts, modeled on the village courts of Papua New Guinea and the local courts of the Solomon Islands. Island courts are presided over by three justices “[k]nowledgeable in custom . . . at least

one of whom shall be a custom chief residing within the territorial jurisdiction of the court" (sec. 3[1]). Appointments are made by the president (the head of state) acting on the advice of the Judicial Services Commission, which includes a representative of the National Council of Chiefs.³⁷ Supervising magistrates are nominated by the chief justice,³⁸ who also holds the power to establish, suspend, cancel, or vary the warrant of a particular island court.³⁹

According to the act, the island courts have broad jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters within their territorial boundaries. The court may punish a litigant (where a matter is deemed to be "criminal") by a fine of up to VT24,000 (approximately US\$250), or imprisonment of up to six months,⁴⁰ or by ordering a period of community service.⁴¹ In civil matters, the island courts may award up to VT50,000 in compensation or restitution and also have the important power to make orders regarding the use or occupation of land.⁴²

Island courts are bound to "administer the customary law prevailing within the territorial jurisdiction of the court so far as the same is not in conflict with any written law and is not contrary to justice, morality and good order" (sec. 10). Lawyers are not permitted to take part in any proceedings,⁴³ and the courts are instructed not to apply technical rules of evidence but rather to "admit and consider such information as is available" (sec. 25).

Appeals may be made from an island court to a magistrates court in all matters except land ownership, which goes directly to the Supreme Court.⁴⁴ Courts hearing appeals from the island courts "shall have two or more assessors knowledgeable in custom" sitting with them in an advisory capacity (sec. 22[2]).

Island courts have been operating for only a few years now and a detailed assessment of their success is premature. Some aspects of their jurisdiction and practice, however, deserve immediate attention.

As of late 1986, seven island courts had been established. Each court covers a whole island, which may contain a diversity of customary groups. This has created some jealousies and problems, but the supervising magistrates⁴⁵ endeavor to select appropriate island court justices from the panel in major or controversial cases. Another significant problem involves training and support. At present there is virtually no training for island court clerks and magistrates apart from a two-hour session with the chief justice upon appointment. There is no agency responsible for monitoring operations, collecting statistics, or providing training and support services.⁴⁶

The most important feature—and failing—of the island courts as currently operating, though, is the absence of any general customary-law

jurisdiction. Each island court is established by warrant by the chief justice under sec. 1 of the Island Courts Act 1983. The Warrant Establishing the Efate Island Court⁴⁷ is typical. It specifies the territorial jurisdiction of the Efate Island Court (coextensive with the boundaries of the local government council); limits the court's criminal jurisdiction to specified offenses in the Penal Code (such as assault, offensive behavior, minor property offenses, trespass, adultery, and witchcraft)⁴⁸ and related legislation (such as those regulating firearms and liquor licensing and consumption); and limits its civil jurisdiction to relatively minor (under VT50,000) tort and contract claims, civil claims brought under Efate regional laws, applications for child maintenance, and "disputes concerning ownership of land irrespective of value of land."

Apart from jurisdiction over land—which under Chap. 12 of the Constitution means *customary* land—the island courts are thus given no role in general matters of customary law and dispute settlement. This situation appears to conflict with the spirit of sec. 50 of the Constitution and sec. 10 of the Island Courts Act 1983, and results in the courts' operating as somewhat less formal magistrates courts rather than as officially sanctioned custom courts. According to local lawyers, the island courts have been most successful in dispensing quick, grass-roots justice in the exercise of their criminal jurisdiction.⁴⁹

Even the jurisdiction over land is much less significant in practice than it would first appear. In virtually 100 percent of cases the unsuccessful litigants in land matters in the island courts exercise their rights of appeal to the Supreme Court.⁵⁰ It is no wonder that, after many years of colonial dislocation, disputes over customary land ownership are "Vanuatu's most widespread cause of internal tension" (Standish 1984: 147; see also Bakeo 1977:76–77). The Supreme Court has recently doubled the filing fee for land appeals in an attempt to reduce the numbers, but is nevertheless inundated with such appeals. Because the record of island court proceedings is usually inadequate,⁵¹ the "appeal" to the Supreme Court is effectively by way of a *de novo* rehearing.

In sum, the island courts have not been given any general customary-law jurisdiction (over such matters as recognition of customary marriages and divorces, adoption, succession, and purely customary offenses),⁵² and their jurisdiction over customary land has been reduced in practice to merely a preliminary hearing of disputes.

The National Council of Chiefs

As discussed above, Chap. 5 of the Vanuatu Constitution affords a role in governance for the National Council of Chiefs (also known as

Malfatu Mauri, in the vernacular), investing in the council “a general competence” to discuss and make recommendations upon matters concerning local custom, culture, tradition, and languages, and providing that the council *may* be consulted by Parliament on prospective legislation, particularly on matters relating to tradition and custom.⁵³ Further, Parliament is *required* to consult with the National Council of Chiefs on the development of a national land law,⁵⁴ and representatives of the council are involved in certain appointments, such as to the judiciary,⁵⁵ to the offices of public prosecutor and public solicitor,⁵⁶ and to the position of ombudsman.⁵⁷

Although the Constitution was designed to give the custom chiefs a leading role in national affairs (Lynch 1981:50–51), in reality they have had considerably less influence than their counterparts in Tonga, Western Samoa, and the Marshall Islands, for example.

Since independence, the Vanua'aku Pati government has rarely seen fit to consult the National Council of Chiefs on pending legislation or policy matters, sometimes pointedly noting that the council has no special expertise and need have no role in determining such “modern” matters as policing, finance, social services, commerce, and the media (Lini 1980:53); and that it is Parliament and not the council that is the democratically elected, national deliberative body (MacClancy 1984:102). For example, the government chose not to consult the council on the Penal Code Bill 1981,⁵⁸ which contained provisions on such matters as sorcery and witchcraft, and arranged marriages. In Parliament, Vanua'aki Pati members explained the failure to consult by asserting that, among other things, the council amounted to a collection of local interests while a national basis was necessary for the formal criminal law, and that the council would take some years to decide on universal customary standards while the need for the bill was immediate.⁵⁹

Even more contentious was the failure of the government to consult with the National Council of Chiefs on the development of important land laws in 1982–1983,⁶⁰ despite sec. 74 of the Constitution that seems to require such consultation. The council complained to the chief justice about this, but did not receive a response (MacClancy 1984:102–103).

The role of custom chiefs in local government has also been substantially diminished. The Constitution originally provided for decentralization on the basis of regional councils,⁶¹ and the representation of custom chiefs on those councils.⁶² Regional councils were abandoned in favor of English-style local government councils by the Decentralisation Act 1980.⁶³ In 1983, the government introduced the Decentralisation (Amendment) Bill, which sought to make members of national, district, island, or area councils of chiefs ineligible for election to local govern-

ment councils. The bill provoked considerable opposition, and by way of compromise the ineligibility was "limited" to chairpersons, vice-chairpersons, secretaries, and treasurers of district, island, and area councils of chiefs, and all members of the National Council of Chiefs (Ghai 1985b:61).⁶⁴

This episode and the lack of consultation clearly demonstrate the government's unease over the political role of custom chiefs. For their part, the custom chiefs are angry and disillusioned that their former prominence has not been restored with the end of colonialism and that their views are not sought by the government, or are disregarded when proffered (Ghai 1985b:71; see also MacClancy 1984:102). The ability of the National Council of Chiefs to offer a clear, alternative voice or to exert political influence is hampered by several factors, including a lack of resources and organization, diverse local customary regimes, and disunity owing to conflicting views over qualifications for "custom chiefs." As in other parts of Melanesia some communities have hereditary leadership (usually those with some Polynesian influences), but many "chiefs" or "big-men" reach that status through personal accomplishment. "Sometimes so-called 'chiefs' have been entrepreneurial local 'big-men' who have merely bought their way up the graded ceremonial ladder in societies where traditionally there were no chiefs, or else men who have achieved other distinction—such as clergymen" (Standish 1984:141; see also Ghai 1985b:70; Ellis and Parsons 1983:126; Hours 1979:19). This situation compromises the legitimacy of the council's role as a repository of custom and tradition.

There is also significant potential for rivalry and conflict between the local councils and custom chiefs, particularly now that the participation of chiefs has been limited by the 1983 amendment. Local councils have already

shown particular interest in codifying customary law and giving effect to it through regional law. The regional law committee of one particular council has already made considerable headway in harmonising the local differences in customary offences and penalties, with a view towards a regional law. Many of the offences are criminal law under national legislation (although customary penalties are stiffer); while some offences under custom do not attract any sanction under national law.⁶⁵ (Ghai 1985b:68)

The councils, however, have tried to avoid a direct conflict of roles, promoting the dispute settlement functions of chiefs (including on impor-

tant land matters) and encouraging chiefs to produce codes of customary law (Ghai 1985b:70–71).

Conclusions

In Vanuatu, as in most of the island Pacific, customary land tenure is one of the last refuges of custom in the official legal system. The attachment of ni-Vanuatu (and other Pacific Islanders) to the land goes well beyond the developed world's view of land as a commodity and factor in production (Ghai 1985a:177–178), and includes essential elements of social relations, political and economic organization, and metaphysical concerns.

In Vanuatu custom land is not only the site of production but it is the mainstay of a vision of the world. Land is at the heart of the operation of the cultural system. It represents life, materially and spiritually. A man is tied to his territory by affinity and consanguinity. The clan *is* its land, just as the clan *is* its ancestors. . . . The clan's land, its ancestors and its men are a single indissoluble reality—a fact which must be borne in mind when it is said that Melanesian land is not alienable. (Bonnemaison 1984:1–2; see also Sope 1974:6–9; Vanuatu 1982:1)

The prime minister of Vanuatu, Fr. Walter Lini, has also commented on the difference between the land-owning cultures of the West and the land-using cultures of the Pacific: "The western concept of regarding land as a marketable commodity is not just alien to the Melanesian, but considered impractical and immoral" (1982:6).

Given the integral nature of land, the legal transformation achieved by Chap. 12 of the Constitution in restoring custom as the basis of all land tenure also achieved "a major socio-economic reorganisation" (Fingleton 1982:340). As intended by the Constitution's planners (Ghai 1985a:179), the provisions on land would support legal pluralism, since customary land tenure systems are regionally, and even locally, distinct⁶⁶ and disputes over customary land use would be resolved by customary courts at the island level. Further, the constitutional plan would emphasize the social organization—rather than the bureaucratic management—of land, strengthening the hand of custom chiefs and elders and others with special influence over the allocation of land-use rights at the expense of surveyors, planners, lawyers, and government officials. Finally, the customary land regime would achieve some measure of political decentralization, since the government would have to con-

sult and negotiate with local communities over land acquisitions for major projects (Ghai 1985a:180–181).

The preoccupation with land matters has meant that, to a large extent, issues of “custom” and “land” are thought to be synonymous, with the consequence that other significant customary law issues (such as the recognition of marriage, divorce, adoption, child custody, and succession regimes) have not been the subject of formal consideration or official action. Given the limited penetration of the colonial legal systems in this rural country and the inevitability that in Vanuatu, as elsewhere, most people will conform their behavior and informally resolve their disputes according to commonly understood customs, usages, and mores, it is likely that custom is more important outside of the formal courts than inside them—although the island courts may yet provide the medium for combining customary law in its procedural and substantive aspects with official sanction.

The demography of the islands and the nature and incongruity of British–French joint colonial rule meant that the penetration of Western legalism in Vanuatu was limited, protecting traditional life to a somewhat greater extent than occurred in other parts of the Pacific (Hours 1979:15–16). The degree to which custom is not universally accepted at the local level in Vanuatu, however, is referable to the conflict with a variety of other powerful foreign influences: (1) settlers who saw custom as a barrier to land acquisition, (2) capitalist entrepreneurs who viewed traditional life and communal social organization (including land tenure) as basically unsuited to the market economy (see Ellis and Parsons 1983:112; Ghai 1985a:175), and (3) missionaries who “fought against custom as a kind of different humanism” (Hours 1979:15).

The missions initially found their work much more difficult in Melanesia than in Polynesia because of malaria, the numerous small, isolated, linguistically distinct societies, and the general absence of a chiefly system (Howe 1984:120, 307). Despite this, the missions have for some time been important providers of educational and social services as well as pastoral services. Representatives of the major missions were included in the Constitutional Planning Committee, and the preamble to the Vanuatu Constitution proclaims that the republic is “founded on traditional Melanesian values, faith in God, and Christian principles.”

In earlier times some of the missions condemned customary practices as “pagan primitivism” and “immoral and subversive” (Standish 1984:133; Lindstrom 1982:316). In more enlightened times a substantial Melanesianization of the major local churches has taken place, accommodating customary values in such areas as marriage, land, rank, and prestige while emphasizing Christian values in such areas as standards

of social behavior and community development (Hours 1979:16). Nevertheless it is still true that "the recent rehabilitation of *Kastom* has posed adjustment problems for Melanesians long accustomed to viewing their 'traditional' culture in almost wholly negative terms," requiring them to "adjust to the notion that not only was 'tradition' not all bad, but some of it was an essential component of their shared identity as ni-Vanuatu" (Tonkinson 1982a:302; Tonkinson 1982c:86).

The *kastom* movements, such as Nagriamel and John Frum, have remained suspicious of any invocation of custom by elements (such as the Vanua'aku Pati) associated with the churches, but at the same time the Vanua'aku Pati has promoted a "Kastom-with-Christianity" concept that evokes traditional ways as symbols of independence and unity while testing custom against modern Christian values (Tonkinson 1982c:86; see also Lini 1982:9). This use of custom, however, compels a softening of focus, for "*Kastom* would have to simultaneously represent and transcend local and regional diversity if it was to successfully symbolize ni-Vanuatu unity. . . . [A] major problem with *Kastom* as a dominant unifying symbol [is that] it is inherently divisive if treated at any level more analytical or literal than an undifferentiated and vague symbolic one" (Tonkinson 1982c:85; see also Tonkinson 1982b; Jupp and Sawyer 1982:552; Ellis and Parsons 1983:133).

The particular political history of Vanuatu points to another problem in securing a central legal role for custom: the ambivalence with which the new political and bureaucratic elite view "*kastom*," given its sometime political role as a code word for antigovernment dissent. That elite is mindful of the fact that while custom and land restoration were unifying factors against colonial rule, the "*kastom* movements" on Santo, Tanna, and elsewhere threatened the drive to independence and the unity and sovereignty of the new republic. As Standish has stated, "*Kastom* as an ideology is now being used in the emerging political power struggle between the chiefs (some of whom are well educated, modern clergy) on the one hand, and the bureaucrats and elected politicians on the other" (1984:148).

This ambivalence is clearly reflected in the writings of Prime Minister Lini, an Anglican priest.

Traditional custom and culture, which are important and vital influences in our society, provide another challenge for us. Some people, mainly politicians, have used culture, custom, and custom chiefs for their own aims.

Custom and culture must develop freely, and should not be

encouraged or forced by any European system of legislation. Contemporary leaders have to be on the watch to ensure custom is not clouded by politics or modernisation. . . .

People have used the idea of "custom" to totally contradict the idea of development and democracy in this country. On Santo and Tanna custom has been carried to extremes by people who incorrectly claim they respect traditional ways. It has become a political weapon and this has made it into something that is not Melanesian at all. (Lini 1980:41-42; see also Hours 1979:19)

Unlike many parts of the Pacific, in Vanuatu the lack of full integration of customary and Western legal systems is not based simply on inertia or a failure to face the difficult issues of legal development. On the contrary, the Vanua'aku Pati government in Vanuatu has, more than any other in the Pacific, expressly recognized that the issues go well beyond the technical legal problem of integrating Western and indigenous forms of law (however difficult that may be). Rather, the main point is perceived to be one of political philosophy: reconciling the conflicting demands of *kastom* and Christianity, social democracy and traditionalism, Melanesian socialism and international capitalism, unity and diversity.

Customary law will continue to be very significant in such areas as land tenure, dispute settlement, compensation, rank, and ritual (Tonkinson 1982c:87). However, indications are already present that suggest "[c]ustom will have to operate increasingly in an environment whose dynamics are defined by the state and the market[,] and its ability to cushion the effects produced by the harsh inequalities on the international and national levels will diminish" (Ghai 1985a:185). With the expanding influence of the state and the market, as well as the other disincentives to fully embracing custom described above, it is likely that the main jurisprudential thrust in Vanuatu will be a form of progressive Western legalism, with custom, culture, and traditional values invoked in a general sense as powerful symbols of national unity and legitimacy and in affirmation of the worth and distinctiveness of Melanesian ways.⁶⁷

NOTES

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1. For a good, brief history of Vanuatu, see Gardissat 1980:22–35.
2. With the interruption of World War I, the protocol was not ratified until 18 March 1922. The protocol was meant merely to amend the 1906 convention, but in its final form amounted to a complete (if modified) restatement (see O'Connell 1969:76–77, 92). As discussed further below, the English and French texts differed somewhat in several important provisions. For example, the Supreme Court of Vanuatu in *Dinh Van Tho v Etat Français* (unreported, Civil Case No. 200 of 1981) pointed out that in Article I(1) of the protocol, "[the English text] avoids the notion that the territory is, for British citizens, British territory, and refers to 'jurisdiction' but the French [text] accepts the proposition that the territory is, for French citizens, French territory (at p. 8)." The court expressed surprise that "the British representatives to the agreement allowed the French version to stand" (at p. 9). See also O'Connell 1969:94–95. On the administration of the Condominium generally, see Belshaw 1950:49–56.
3. The 1906 convention referred to "jurisdiction" over nationals; without explanation the protocol replaced this with "sovereignty" over respective nationals. For the British basis of competent jurisdiction, absent territorial sovereignty, and the complex reception of law issues, see O'Connell 1969:107–118; for the French position see O'Connell 1969:118–121. Litigants in the British system could appeal to the Court of Appeal in Fiji and then to the Privy Council in London. Litigants in the French system could appeal to the higher French tribunals (the Cour d'Appel and the Cour de Cassation) in New Caledonia. See Pakoa 1977:47.
4. Joint Regulation No. 6 of 1927, later replaced by Joint Regulation No. 12 of 1962. See Pakoa 1977:47.
5. Art. X(1) and (2). The king of Spain was also requested to appoint the public prosecutor. Neither the president of the court nor the public prosecutor could be British or French nationals.
6. Regarding the complex sources of law arrangements, see O'Connell 1969:125, 139–141.
7. See also Van Trease 1984:23; Cole 1986:10; Sope 1974:12–16; and Bakeo 1977:76. O'Connell has described the 1906 convention and 1914 protocol as being "pre-occupied with devices for minimizing national conflict in the grab for land. The Joint Court was given an elaborate jurisdiction to confer title on claimants and to adjudicate between rival titles" (1969:138–139).
8. Registration was effected under Joint Regulation No. 3 of 1930.
9. See Van Trease 1984:24–27; Sope 1974:22–39; Ellis and Parsons 1983:115; Hours 1979:16–17; Standish 1984:137–139; and Kolig 1981:59–61.

10. See Plant 1977:49–51, 52–57; Sope 1974:40–45; Van Trease 1984:29; Molisa et al. 1982:96; Jupp and Sawyer 1982:558–560. Advertisements extolled the New Hebrides as “the world’s newest and SAFEST TAX HAVEN” and American servicemen were assured that Asian wives would feel welcome (Plant 1977:49).
11. Joint Regulations No. 15 and No. 16 of 1971; subsequently repealed and replaced by No. 22 of 1971. The developers blamed the British for the regulations, and the former and acting British resident commissioners were sued, in both their official and personal capacities, for damages in the High Court of the Western Pacific. The litigation was never resolved. See Sope 1974:42–45.
12. On French colonial policy and administration generally, see Hooker 1975:196–203. On French attitudes in the New Hebrides, see O’Connell 1969:142–145. Association, or collaboration, recognized the need for consultation with the colonial population in the process of development.
13. For an excellent fictional treatment of the short-lived rebellions, see Astley 1986. The manner of the dispatch of troops was controversial within Papua New Guinea, although Vanuatu’s independence was universally supported; see Supreme Court Reference No. 4 of 1980 (the “Vanuatu Case”) [1981] P.N.G.L.R. 265.
14. Art. II, sec. 13.
15. Art. II, sec. 14.
16. Art. VII, sec. 12.
17. Arts. V, sec. 2, and VII, sec. 5, respectively.
18. Art. VII, sec. 2.
19. Art. VII, secs. 4, 6, and 7.
20. Art. X, sec. 1.
21. Art. X, sec. 3.
22. The French minister for overseas territories, M. Dijoud, called for the most decentralization possible, “to enable the customary authorities in each island, in association with the community councils, to manage local affairs in a very autonomous fashion” (Premdas and Steeves 1984:70–71). Sec. 81 of the Constitution provided for regional councils (including representation of custom chiefs) and sec. 94 provided transitional arrangements regarding their establishment and election. After independence, however, the government amended the Constitution and passed the Decentralisation Act 1980 (No. 11 of 1980), which divided Vanuatu into eleven local government regions and devolved very little power. See Ghai 1985b:44, 50, 57–60; Premdas and Steeves 1984:75–84.
23. Sec. 3(1) of the Constitution declares that Bislama is the “national language” of Vanuatu; Bislama, English, and French are the “official languages”; and English and French are the “principal languages of education.” Sec. 62 grants every citizen the right to obtain administrative services in the official language of his or her choice, and authorizes the ombudsman to inquire into alleged breaches of this right. The ombudsman is also directed to report to Parliament annually “concerning the advance of multilingualism and the measures likely to ensure its respect” (sec. 62[3]). Unfortunately, the ombudsman’s position has never been filled. Applications were once called for, but the government

decided appointment of an expatriate was inappropriate and no qualified indigenous candidates were available.

24. Papua New Guinea has also failed to enact legislation in this regard despite the direction of sec. 20 of its constitution, but the situation is covered, if inadequately, by the "transitional" provisions of Schedule 2 of the PNG Constitution and the extant colonial-era Customs Recognition Act (Chap. 19 of the Revised Laws). See Weisbrot 1982b:67-70, 89-103; and Papua New Guinea Law Reform Commission, *Report No. 7: The Role of Customary Law in the Legal System* (Port Moresby, 1977).

25. For an outline of jurisdiction of the Vanuatu courts, see Corrin 1986:225, 229-231.

26. See, e.g., Schedules 2.1 and 5 of the Papua New Guinea Constitution.

27. Sec. 79(2). For a commentary by Vanuatu's attorney-general on these provisions, see Hakwa 1984:72-74; see also Narokobi 1981:149-156.

28. Sec. 77(2). Apart from legislation and the granting or withholding of permission under this provision, the government may also influence land use through such mechanisms as the provision of loans and credits, agricultural extension advice, and price and marketing controls. See Chai 1985a:184.

29. Vanuatu Courts Regulation 1980, sec. 29.

30. The Hon. Frederick G. Cooke.

31. Sec. 40 of the Constitution.

32. For example, Schedule 2.1 of the Papua New Guinea Constitution prohibits recognition of custom considered by the courts to be "repugnant to the general principles of humanity." The Vanuatu Island Courts Act 1983, sec. 10, tests custom against "justice, morality and good order" for those informal courts.

33. Condominium law was quite complex. In addition to the main Joint Regulations, there were also rules, decisions, and joint standing orders. All of these statutory instruments were in both French and English, and there were often differences between the two. See O'Connell 1969:102-104.

34. See Williams 1984:6. Joint Regulation No. 36 of 1974 covers legal deposit, but is in urgent need of revision. The National Archives of Vanuatu is the likely site of a legal depository, with the University of the South Pacific (which has a Pacific Law Unit in Vanuatu) as a back-up center.

35. Sec. 93(2).

36. No. 10 of 1983. Made pursuant to sec. 50 of the Constitution.

37. See sec. 46 of the Constitution.

38. Sec. 2.

39. Sec. 1.

40. See secs. 11 and 17. A supervising magistrate must confirm sentences of more than fourteen days.

41. Sec. 16.

42. Secs. 12–13.
43. Sec. 27.
44. Sec. 22(1).
45. There are currently two supervising magistrates, one based in Vila and the other in Luganville, Santo.
46. In Papua New Guinea, for example, the under-resourced but energetic Village Courts Secretariat provides these services.
47. Dated 30 April 1984.
48. Act No. 17 of 1981. The Vanuatu Penal Code is a substantially modified version of the Indian Penal Code, 1860. See secs. 88, 89, 97A, 107(a), 121, 125(a), 126(b), 131, 133, 136, 144, 148, and 151.
49. On the northern islands, where the chieftainship system is weakest, there is a greater tendency to use the Western-style courts rather than the island courts when jurisdiction overlaps, as in most nonland matters.
50. The establishment of an intermediary Land Appeals Tribunal was provided for in Part 1 of the Vanuatu Courts Regulation 1980, patterned on the customary land appeal courts of the Solomon Islands. The tribunal was opposed by the chief justice, however, and never was constituted; it was subsequently effectively abolished by the Island Courts Act 1983, sec. 22(1)(a), which provides for appeals directly to the Supreme Court in land matters.
51. See sec. 28 of the Island Courts Act 1983.
52. Cf. sec. 12 of the Village Courts Act 1974 (Chap. 44 of the Revised Laws of Papua New Guinea), which confers on the village courts of PNG jurisdiction over “any dispute” within its territorial boundaries, as well as certain specified criminal matters. See also sec. 16 regarding the primary function of village courts (“to ensure peace and harmony . . . by mediating in and endeavouring to obtain just and amicable settlements of disputes”), sec. 22 regarding the courts’ general criminal jurisdiction, and sec. 26 regarding the application of relevant customs.
53. Chap. 5, sec. 28 of the Constitution.
54. Sec. 74.
55. Secs. 46–47.
56. Secs. 53–54.
57. Sec. 59.
58. Subsequently enacted as No. 17 of 1981.
59. The council did, however, manage to arrange for a Private Member’s Bill to be passed, adding adultery as an offense under the Penal Code. See MacClancy 1984:102.
60. The Alienated Land Act 1982, No. 12 of 1982; the Land Referee Act 1982, No. 15 of 1982; and the Land Leases Act 1983, No. 4 of 1983. See Corrin 1986:233.
61. Chap. 13. This was to meet French concerns about preserving regional autonomy and thus minority interests. See Ghai 1985b:50–55; Premdas and Steeves 1984:68–71.

62. Sec. 81(1).

63. No. 11 of 1980.

64. Members of the National Council of Chiefs are elected by their peers at the district level, under sec. 27(1) of the Constitution.

65. As Chai notes, "It is clear that the enactment of such a code is outside the formal competence of the council and will involve various inconsistencies with national laws" (1985b:68).

66. There are significant differences between the land tenure systems in the northern islands and those in the central and southern islands. Among other things there are some matrilineal systems in the north, whereas the central and southern regions are exclusively patrilineal. Details differ even with regions, however. See Bonnemaïson 1984:3-4. See also Cole 1986:7-8; Haberkorn 1985:2.

67. The Vanua'aku Pati *Platform* (1983:18) calls for "the development of one unified law." The party's stated long-term aim is the "[c]reation of a body of law which is easily identified and accessible and which is certain and which is appropriate to the Republic's communal and social outlook."

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TOURIST HOTEL FOOD AND BEVERAGE IMPORTS IN FIJI AND VANUATU

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Both tourism and agriculture are generally regarded as important to the development objectives of South Pacific nations, yet little is known about the linkages between the two sectors. This article looks at the nature and extent of locally produced and imported food and beverages served in hotels in Vanuatu and Fiji, identifies reasons why hotels purchase imported products, and assesses possibilities for import substitution.

Introduction

Small island nations have become a subject of increasing study by development economists. The economies of these states—whether located in the Pacific or Indian oceans, the Caribbean or Mediterranean seas or elsewhere around the globe—are typically open, fragile, and dependent (Lestrade 1987; Bune 1987; Legarda 1984). Their openness is reflected in a very high ratio of exports and imports to Gross Domestic Product. Their fragility is reflected in their narrow, low-technology industrial bases, weak financial structures, and relatively large agricultural sectors that are highly vulnerable to changing world supply and demand. Their dependence is reflected in their reliance on foreign aid, tourism earnings, and overseas capital to help finance development projects.

Paralleling the increased attention to the economic development of small island states has been a wider interpretation of the meaning of “development.” As a result of the critical writings of certain economists,

anthropologists, sociologists, and other social theorists it is now appreciated that development has social, political, human, and historical dimensions that cannot be ignored if one is to comprehend the past, current, and future evolution of these societies (Apthorpe and Kráhl 1986; Seers 1981; Hill 1986). Nowhere are the essential linkages between economic, social, cultural, political, and other aspects of development more evident than in the impact of tourism on small island nations.

While tourism is a means of promoting wealth, foreign exchange earnings, and employment in a country, the potential economic benefits cannot be assessed independently of the noneconomic implications, many negative. Tourism, especially in a small country, has potentially serious social, cultural, environmental, aesthetic, and political effects that must be considered alongside the more easily quantifiable economic effects in an overall assessment of its costs and benefits (de Kadt 1979; Krippendorff 1982; Graburn 1983; Britton 1983).

Although the emergence of multidisciplinary study of the impact of tourism on small island nations is welcomed, unfortunately substantial gaps in our knowledge of its implications still exist, even when considered within the narrow scope of a particular discipline. Limited data on the economic impact of tourism often prevent realistic assessments of its effect on national income, employment, and the balance of payments, let alone an assessment of its overall costs and benefits. The present article, focusing on a particular but important issue in two small island nations, represents one attempt to help bridge the gap.

Background

For a number of years both Vanuatu¹ and Fiji² have suffered from a shortage of foreign exchange, which has acted as a major constraint to economic development. With slowly growing agricultural production and narrow export bases, together with low and unstable export prices and increasing trade deficits, receipts from tourism represent an important source of foreign exchange earnings. By expanding the demand for goods and services, thereby providing the opportunity for existing industries to grow and new industries to develop, tourism expenditure has contributed to national income and employment.³

At present there exist substantial leakages of tourism receipts to more developed countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, due to the high direct and indirect import content of the goods and services that satisfy tourist needs. Those leakages significantly reduce the impact of

tourism on national income and employment in small island nations. If the tourism industry in these countries is to make a more significant contribution to economic development objectives, careful attention needs to be paid to retaining domestically a greater proportion of tourism expenditure and tourism-related investment. One means is to strengthen the linkages between the tourism industry and the agricultural and manufacturing sectors. In general, the more developed the links between the tourism industry and primary and secondary industry, the greater the contribution tourism receipts make to the domestic economy. The stronger the linkages the greater the possibilities for import substitution to meet visitor needs, thereby increasing the capacity of tourism to generate foreign exchange. Further, the greater the degree of integration and diversification in an economy the greater the amount of employment generated from a given amount of tourist spending.

In view of the limited scope that these Pacific nations have for import substitution in manufactured goods, the question arises as to the possibilities for strengthening the bonds between tourism and agriculture. While it is known that a large proportion of expenditure on imports into Vanuatu and Fiji is on foodstuffs,⁴ very little is known as to the import content of hotel food and beverage purchases and the reasons that imported foodstuffs may be preferred to local products. Knowledge of the reasons certain foods and beverages are imported by hotels can serve as a guide to possibilities for import substitution in this area, which would reduce the nation's import bill for consumer items. It can also help in the formulation of policies designed to enhance the net economic impact of tourism (Belisle 1983; Lattimer 1985; Dwyer 1988).

Information on hotel food and beverage purchases was obtained between June and August 1986 in Vanuatu and April and May 1987 in Fiji, directly from tourist hotels in each country. Hotel purchasing officers kindly filled in a questionnaire formulated by the author. In all, ten hotels were surveyed, four in Vanuatu and six in Fiji.⁵ While the results from such a small sample must be treated with caution, they are nonetheless indicative of the food and beverage purchasing profiles of the hotel sectors in these countries. In my view the respondents filled in the questionnaire responsibly and as accurately as they could, but given the small sample and the lack of quantitatively precise data in certain instances the reader must be wary of attaching unwarranted precision to the results. When treated as suggestive of actual values, however, the results convey useful information about hotel food and beverage expenditure in each country.

TABLE 1. Food and Beverage Sales and Purchases of Sampled Hotels in Vanuatu and Fiji

	Vanuatu 1985		Fiji 1986	
	Vatu ^a	%	F\$ ^b	%
Food				
Value of sales	83,753,300		4,852,164	
Purchasing costs	31,618,100		1,932,271	
Ratio of purchasing costs to sales		37.8		39.8
Beverages				
Value of sales	44,416,000		1,978,819	
Purchasing costs	20,157,900		783,141	
Ratio of purchasing costs to sales		45.4		39.6

^a100 Vatu = U.S. 52¢ approx. (June 1987).

^bF\$1 = U.S. 72¢ approx. (June 1987).

Results

General Purchasing Profile

The value of food and beverage sales and purchases by the surveyed hotels in the two countries in the year preceding the survey is shown in Table 1. The purchasing costs comprise the total costs of goods sold excluding preparation costs and wages. The difference between the value of sales and purchasing costs represents value added in preparation and service.

Hotel purchasing costs by category of foodstuffs are set out in Table 2. For the sample in each country "meat" is the category of largest expenditure on food purchases, ranging from 22% to 34% of the total. Within this category the major items purchased were beef (prime cuts), beef (other cuts), pork, lamb, and veal. Another major category is "fish and seafood," ranging from 11% to 17% of the total food purchasing costs. Within this category the bulk of expenditure (from 60% to 75%) was on fish. Other seafood purchases included lobster, prawns, mussels, and crab. Poultry (including eggs) represents another major expenditure category. The bulk of hotel poultry meat purchases, over 90%, were for chicken, with less expenditure on duck and turkey. Aggregate expenditure on fruit and vegetables for the sample of hotels in each nation varied between 15% and 18% of total food purchases. Major fruits purchased were banana, pawpaw (papaya), pineapple, mango,

TABLE 2. Components of Hotel Food and Beverage Purchases

Category	Vanuatu 1985		Fiji 1986	
	Value Vatu ('000s)	% of Total Food Purchases	Value F\$ ('000s)	% of Total Food Purchases
Food				
Meat	10787.9	34	425.1	22
Poultry (incl. eggs)	2403.3	8	231.8	12
Fish and other seafood	3343.9	11	328.5	17
Fruit	2321.2	7	135.3	7
Vegetables	3507.1	11	154.6	8
Dairy products	2221.4	7	251.2	13
Groceries	7042.3	22	405.8	21
Total (food)	31627.1	100	1932.3	100
Beverages	20157.9		783.2	
Total (both)	51785.0		2715.5	

watermelon, and passionfruit while major vegetables purchased were taro, potatoes, tomatoes, rice, cabbage, lettuce, onions, and carrots with smaller purchases of capsicum (peppers), beetroot, pumpkin, celery, and cauliflower. Purchases of dairy products such as milk, butter, cream, cheese, and ice cream ranged between 7% and 13% of hotel food purchases. Expenditure on groceries varied between 21% and 22%, and covered items such as bread and flour, canned and frozen foods, oils and fats, spices, sugar, pickles and relishes, jams and jellies, packaged cereals, tea, and coffee.

Purchases of beverages such as beer, spirits, wines, soft drinks, and fruit and vegetable juices also constituted a major expenditure item for the sample. Purchasing costs of beverages as a percentage of total food and beverage purchasing costs for the sample were 39% in Vanuatu and 29% in Fiji, indicating the importance of beverage purchases.

Import Content

The hotel purchasing officers were asked to nominate the import content of food and beverage purchases and the reasons imports were purchased in preference to local products.⁶ The percentages shown in Table 3 represent the estimated proportion, by aggregate value, of local and imported products for each category. Compared to Vanuatu hotels, the import content of food purchases is slightly higher for Fiji hotels while

TABLE 3. Import Content of Hotel Food and Beverage Purchases

	Vanuatu 1985		Fiji 1986	
	Import Content (%)	Reasons for Imports ^a	Import Content (%)	Reasons for Imports ^a
Aggregate				
All foods	33		35	
All beverages	77	1,2	49	1,2,6
By category				
Meat	5	1,5	50	1,2,4,6
Poultry (incl. eggs)	0		1	1
Fish and other seafood	17	1,4	16	1,2,4,5
Fruit	6	1,2,4	22	1,2,4
Vegetables	51	1,2,4	45	1,2,4
Dairy products	52	1,2,3,4	4	1,2
Groceries	90	1,2,3,6	75	1,2,3,6

^aReasons for imports

- 1 unavailable in sufficient quantity locally
- 2 imported item is of better quality
- 3 imported food item is cheaper
- 4 supply of imported item is more reliable
- 5 imported item is more convenient to use
- 6 imported item conforms more to tourists' tastes

The six nominated reasons for imports were originally employed in a study by Belisle (1984a) of the import content of food purchases of the hotel sector in Jamaica.

that for beverage purchases is lower, due largely to a high proportion of beer purchases in the Fiji hotels' beverage purchasing profile and to the operation of a local brewery.

Meat. The Vanuatu hotels did not import meat except for some ham or bacon. Hoteliers expressed satisfaction with the local beef but nominated insufficient availability of local pork supplies and convenience as reasons for importing ham and bacon.

The hotels in Fiji serve imported beef (prime cuts), veal, and lamb. The main reason why hotels in Fiji purchase imported prime cuts of beef is that they are regarded as of superior quality. Although other reasons were offered—and some mince, sausages, and other cuts of beef are purchased from local sources—the overriding concern of hotels was with the quality of the beef. Some hotels complained about the toughness of the local product. The Fijian hotels served local pork exclusively and seemed satisfied with it.

Poultry. All hotels purchased local eggs only. Hotels in Vanuatu did not buy imported poultry and one hotel in Fiji purchased a minimal amount of imported turkey. None indicated any problems with local poultry products.

Fish and Other Seafood. For Vanuatu, 83% of overall fish and seafood purchases came from local sources. Import content for subcategories were fish 25%, prawns 25%, and mussels 100%. Reasons for imports were unavailability of the local product and more reliable supply of the imported item. It was stated, however, that guests generally prefer freshly caught fish and other seafood.

For the Fiji hotels 16% of fish and other seafood was imported. Over 90% of fish was of local origin while prawns, squid and octopus, oysters, and mussels were imported. The major reason for serving imported varieties seemed to be concern over irregular supplies. The quality of local lobsters and crabs seemed to be satisfactory but there was concern about their irregular supply. Imported prawns were often preferred because of consistent availability, quality, and presentation. Insufficient supplies of local oysters and mussels together with poor quality militated against their purchase.

Fruit. In Vanuatu guests prefer to consume local fruit. Purchases of imports came to 6% of total fruit purchases. Imported items were apples (100% imported) and pineapple (25% imported). The production of pineapples in Vanuatu is increasing and purchases of imported pineapples are likely to decrease over time.

In Fiji the import content of hotel fruit purchases was 22%. The high import content of fruit compared to Vanuatu is due mainly to the large proportion of oranges (51% of which by value are imported) served to guests despite a 55% duty on citrus fruits. Other imported items were apples, pears, grapes, strawberries, peaches, all 100%; grapefruits 38%; avocados 29%; and lemons 10%. Reasons for offering imported fruit include unreliability and seasonal inadequacy of local supplies and quality considerations.

Vegetables. In Vanuatu purchases of imports represented around 50% of the total amount spent by hotels on vegetables. Items imported were rice, 100% imported; potatoes, cabbage, beans, carrots, chilies, radishes, all 75% imported; and tomatoes, capsicum (bell peppers), lettuce, onions, parsley, cucumbers, eggplant, cauliflower, peas, broccoli, corn, brussels sprouts, spinach, celery, turnips, and zucchini, each 25%

imported. While unreliability of supplies from local producers was one of the reasons given for preferring imports, it was indicated that supplies of local vegetables are becoming more reliable.

In Fiji purchases of imports represented 45% of the total spent by hotels on vegetables. Items imported were potatoes, broccoli, beetroot, all 100%; onions and celery, each 95%; carrots 78%; peas 43%; lettuce 28%; cauliflower 27%; zucchini 26%; capsicum 25%; parsley 22%; cabbage 18%; brussels sprouts 12%; and tomatoes 3%. The major reason for importing was the insufficiency of local output during the off-season. Also, imported celery, lettuce, potatoes, tomatoes, and onions were regarded as superior in quality.

When weighted according to value the aggregate import content of fruit and vegetable purchases by Fiji hotels came to 34%. Comparing my estimates with those of Varley (1978), who estimated the import content of hotel fruit and vegetable purchases to be 54%, a degree of import substitution has occurred in Fiji's hotel sector during the past decade.

Dairy Products. In Vanuatu butter, cheese, and cream were 100% imported, milk was 25% imported, and ice cream was produced locally. The reason given for purchasing imported butter and cheese was the unavailability of local supplies. Imported cream was regarded as better and cheaper than the local product. Imported milk was regarded as of better quality and supplies are more reliable.

In Fiji butter, milk, and ice cream served by hotels were of local origin. Cheese was 26% imported. Small quantities of cream also were imported. Reasons given for serving imported cheese were unavailability of supplies of the local product and superior quality of the imported item. Comment was also made that local cream tended to separate.

Groceries. Imports amounted to 90% of total grocery purchases of hotels in Vanuatu and 75% in Fiji. Items classified as local food in each country include bread, some jams and jellies, some coffee, oils and fats, and spices in Vanuatu; and some pickles and relishes, syrups, oils and fats, spices, and sugar in Fiji.

The reason given for generally preferring imported groceries was that such items simply are unavailable locally, especially in the bulk-size packages and cans that hotels desire. In the case of imported canned and frozen foods, for example, hotels realize appreciable savings in food preparation time and effort, in addition to providing products that satisfy tourists' taste preferences. During the off-season especially, when

some fresh vegetables are in limited supply and prices rise, the purchase of imported canned and frozen foods can result in significant cost savings.

Beverages. In Vanuatu, purchases of imports came to 77% of total hotel purchase costs of beverages. Beer, spirits, and wine were wholly imported; soft drinks and fruit juices were 75% imported; and vegetable juices 25% imported. Reasons offered by hoteliers were primarily the unavailability of local beer, spirits, and wine. Some soft drinks were imported because they better complement spirits. Reservations were expressed about the quality of local fruit juices.

In Fiji purchases of imports came to 49% of total hotel purchase costs of beverages. The import content of beer was 5%, spirits 80%, wine 95%, vegetable juices 81%, while soft drinks and fruit juices were of local origin. While some imported beer was served in hotels the local product was well regarded. Some local-brand pouring spirits and house wines were served to guests but regarded as inferior to imported items. Overall import content was heavily influenced by purchases of imported wine for which the local product is not an adequate substitute.

Previous Studies

To my knowledge, only two previous studies have attempted to estimate the import content of hotel food and beverage purchases in these countries. Mark Sturton has published estimates for hotels in Vanuatu based on a 1983 survey (Sturton 1985). Sturton's estimates for the import content of hotel food purchases were: meat and poultry 29%, fish and seafood 15%, fruit and vegetables 31%, dairy products 66%, and groceries (excluding bread) 100%. My estimates for fish and seafood (17%) and for fruit and vegetables (33% by aggregate value) are very similar to Sturton's. Our different estimates for the import content of groceries is probably due in large part to my inclusion of bread in that category. Import bans on meat, milk, and eggs imposed since 1983 would account for much of our differing estimates for meat and dairy imports.

A survey of the import content of hotel food and beverage purchases in Fiji was undertaken in 1975 by Varley (Varley 1978). Varley's import content estimates were: meat and poultry 59%, fish and other seafood 54%, fruit and vegetables 54%, bread/dairy/eggs 14%, groceries 81%, and beverages 45%. Aggregate food import content was estimated to be 56%. For every category, except beverages, my estimates are less than Varley's, indicating that hotels in Fiji have reduced the import content

of their food purchases over the last decade. Some of the reasons for this will emerge in the following section.

On the basis of the hotel purchasing officers' responses as to why imported food and beverages are served to patrons in preference to local products we are now in a position to discuss the possibilities for import substitution.

Possibilities for Import Substitution

The high import content of the hotels' food and beverage purchases reflects the high dependency of each nation in general on imported food products. It is to be expected, of course, given their emphasis on quality considerations and the taste preferences of their clientele, that hotels will import proportionately more items in each category than the nation as a whole. While concerned with the scope for import substitution in the hotels' food and beverage purchasing profile, this discussion has implications for import substitution in each nation as a whole, thereby reducing the leakages of foreign exchange for consumer items. In particular, it provides an additional perspective on how each country's agricultural development strategies can be promoted. While greater self-reliance in food production and the exploitation of new opportunities for food processing are desirable ends, they can be justified in purely economic terms only when they result in real cost savings to the nation.

Meat. The increase projected in the productivity of the Fijian beef industry (Fiji 1985: sec. 5.2.115), if achieved, will go some way to alleviate the situation where imported beef is served because local supplies are insufficient. While one might question the potential to bring about the estimated productivity increases, more effort needs to be paid to quality if local beef is to replace imported beef in hotels. At present, quality-control procedures are inadequate and hotels express concern about serving the local product.

Each country is improving pork production but in Vanuatu there is still too little to satisfy domestic demand. As domestic supply increases hotel imports of ham and bacon can be expected to decline.

The high cost of imported feed has affected the production costs of pig (and poultry) products in both countries. In Vanuatu there is some discussion about setting up a feed mill (Vanuatu 1984). This nation can learn a great deal from the Fijian difficulties in operating a cost-effective feed mill and it would be unwise to proceed too quickly in this

endeavor. In the meantime, research should continue to develop livestock rations that require minimal imported ingredients.

Poultry. The Vanuatu poultry industry appears to be healthy. The main island of Efate is virtually self-sufficient in broilers and eggs. The import of eggs and frozen chickens is banned and progress has been made in substituting local chickens for imported items. There is every reason to believe that local production will continue to satisfy hotels' demand for poultry.

Fiji's poultry industry also appears healthy. During the period covered by the Ninth Development Plan a poultry industry stabilization committee was established to promote orderly expansion of the industry, to upgrade standards of hatchery hygiene, and to keep in check the periodic oversupply that has undercut prices and revenues. The plan also called for increased incorporation of local ingredients in poultry feed to substitute for imported maize and sorghum (Fiji 1985: sec. 5.2.113). If successful this could result in Fijian poultry farmers' achieving considerable savings in operating costs, thus maintaining the competitive edge of the local product over imports in hotel purchases.

While local production of meat and poultry in Fiji could be encouraged by increasing tariff rates, caution is warranted. At present Fiji imposes a 15% import duty on beef and pork products and an 80% duty on poultry. Any increase in these duties would increase prices to residents and tourists alike, raising the price of a Fiji holiday while most likely fostering inefficiencies in local industry. It is the quality of the local products that must be given urgent priority. Whereas there appears to be significant scope to expand the quantity of local pork and poultry available for domestic consumption, improved quality is a prerequisite to increased sales to the hotel sector.

Fish and Other Seafood. Possibilities for increased import substitution in the category of fish and seafood exist in Vanuatu. While the Fisheries Development Program in Vanuatu has met with a fair degree of success, larger increases in production can be absorbed. The processing and marketing of fish in urban areas is the responsibility of the government-owned Port-Vila Fisheries Ltd. Port-Vila Fisheries has provided a ready market for village fishermen and has developed the local market for fish as well as some marine products not traditionally harvested and consumed in Vanuatu, such as oysters, prawns, and squid. Port-Vila Fisheries serves both the domestic and export markets and

imports directly when substitute local products are unavailable. Import duties are currently 55% for fresh and frozen fish and 45% for canned fish. In order to insure that imports do not conflict with fisheries development in Vanuatu and to attempt to maximize long-term government revenue from all sources—including import duties, tourist taxes, and export duties—consideration is being given to restricting imports of fresh and frozen fish, crustaceans, and shellfish solely to Port-Vila Fisheries. This might cause some short-term problems for hotels on those occasions when local supplies are insufficient to meet local demand, but it should stimulate the local fishing industry. Indications are that the marketing operations of Port-Vila Fisheries are reasonably efficient and only the inadequacy of local supplies needs to be remedied for hotels to purchase more local fish and seafood.

In Fiji certain initiatives promise to increase the possibilities for import substitution in hotel fish and seafood purchases. For some time the government has attempted to encourage fisheries development under the commercial Artisanal Fisheries Program designed to upgrade fish collection and marketing arrangements and provide technical training and advisory services to fisheries (Fiji 1985: sec. 5.3.11). Since 1983 the National Marketing Authority (NMA) has adopted a more active approach to fish marketing, with fish a priority product managed separately from its other product lines. It is envisaged that the NMA will become involved in all stages of marketing from the fisherman to the consumer. The NMA's involvement in retailing, preferably in a joint venture with an operator with proven retailing experience, is regarded as necessary if it is to make an effective contribution to setting quality standards. More emphasis needs to be given to factors such as the poor distribution system for domestic fish, the inability of fishermen to provide local products in the quantity and form required by urban consumers, preservation facilities, and knowledge of the resource base.

The success of the NMA's endeavors in retailing, improving fish quality, and processing will depend crucially on the quality of its management and the effectiveness of its proposed liaison with the Fisheries Division of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. The NMA could profit from a study of the operations of Port-Vila Fisheries in Vanuatu that operates in an efficient manner to reduce the dependence of hotels in Vanuatu on imported fish and other seafood items.

Fiji's import duties are currently 55% on fish and 60% on crustaceans and mollusks. One hotelier expressed the view that these high import duties on crustaceans should be lifted, especially when no local varieties exist, as is the case with scallops and oysters. However, in view of the

proposed greater involvement of the NMA in fish and seafood marketing and the Fisheries Division concern to address problems on the supply side, there is a good case for maintaining existing tariff levels in the interim so that the success of these initiatives might be more readily assessed. After a suitable period tariffs could be reviewed with a view to their reduction or elimination.

For Fiji in 1975, 54% of fish and other seafood served by hotels was imported (Varley 1978). If the responses to my survey are accurate the figure is now 16%. It would seem that considerable progress has been made over the last decade regarding import substitution in this area. There is no doubt that hotels would prefer to purchase still more local fish and seafood but the main obstacles lie on the supply side.

As far as fish processing is concerned, viable commercial operations exist in Fiji and are possible in Vanuatu. In Fiji there is scope for greater utilization of the PAFCO fish processing plant. A project is underway to fillet and package premium fish cuts, and experimental work on fish drying and smoking is being conducted. While the current market for smoked fish is small there is potential for sales to the hotel sector. In Vanuatu, as the volume of pelagic fish increases, the establishment of a cannery could be considered. The small amounts of smoked fish available have been in demand but the fish marketing outlets lack purpose-built smoking facilities (Vanuatu 1984: sec. 9.27). A further benefit to each country would involve the production of fish meal to replace imported ingredients in animal feed.

Fruit and Vegetables. Projects currently underway in Fiji can be expected to reduce the proportion of imported fruit in hotels' purchasing profiles. There seems to be potential for local citrus fruit, particularly oranges. In this connection the Batiri Citrus Project appears promising. Between 1982 when harvesting commenced and 1984, local production of oranges has increased substantially (Fiji 1985: sec. 5.2.80). If output targets from the project are met, hotel purchases of imported oranges may be expected to fall. This will depend, however, on the quality of the local product, presently regarded as inferior to imports. Greater effort is also being put into avocado production with an emphasis on eliminating problems of irregular supply. Fiji hoteliers regard the local avocados as of good quality, so this should lead to increased purchases.

Realistically, however, in both countries under review some degree of import content—especially in nontropical varieties of fruit—will remain due to climatic and soil conditions and limited areas available for

orchard development coupled with the hotels' concern to provide familiar taste offerings to patrons.

The soil and climatic conditions in each country are ideal for growing a wide variety of vegetables. The import content of hotel purchases of vegetables (Vanuatu 51%, Fiji 45%) appears high. While purchases may be expected to increase during the off-season, more attention needs to be paid to those vegetables where there is scope to improve quantity, quality, and reliability of supply.

There are also possibilities for indirect import substitution, replacing vegetables commonly served to tourists with local vegetables. In this respect a study ought to be undertaken concerning hotels' substituting the locally grown sweet potato, a high carbohydrate root crop, for other potatoes and rice. However, while indirect import substitution can increase hotel purchases of local food, the extent to which it can do so is limited. Unless tourists are offered a cuisine that satisfies their tastes they will not return to that holiday destination and will not recommend the destination to their friends.

Furthermore a number of possibilities exist for direct import substitution. Hotels would probably purchase substantially more locally grown potatoes in Vanuatu and Fiji if more were available. This would require more land for potato growing at the high elevations needed to grow temperate-climate crops in tropical latitudes. In Fiji new production areas currently under development in the highlands of Viti Levu promise to increase potato output. The future development of Fiji's vegetable industry is heavily dependent on research currently being undertaken by the Department of Agriculture (Fiji 1985: sec. 5.2.105). Such research is aimed at improving the productivity, at high elevation, of a variety of vegetables presently imported in large proportions by hotels: potatoes, onions, cabbage, carrots, lettuce, zucchini, celery, capsicum. What is sorely needed in these (and indeed in all countries in the South Pacific) is more substantial agricultural research to determine which varieties are best suited to local conditions, fertilizer responses, identification of optimal crop protection measures, and how improvements in productivity can be brought about.

The countries differ in the levels of import duties imposed on vegetables. Vanuatu does not tax vegetable imports—fresh, frozen, or preserved—but restrictions are imposed at various times to encourage local production. These import bans have apparently been effective in promoting the local production of potatoes, onions, and cabbage. In Fiji import duties are 10% on onions and potatoes and 30% on other vegetables. While the margin of protection afforded to local growers seems

high enough local production does not appear to have increased to its full potential.

Possibilities for import substitution in vegetables are limited, however, by a number of constraints. These involve climatic and soil conditions, modes of agricultural production, social and behavioral constraints, economic and financial constraints, marketing constraints, and problems of quality control, storage, distribution, and inadequate institutional support (see Belisle 1984a; Ward and Proctor 1980). At present hotel purchases of imported fruit and vegetables are not significant compared to each nation's total food import bill. But as the tourist industry in each country expands, increasing losses of foreign exchange will result if such obstacles are not overcome. Limitations of space preclude a more detailed discussion of the barriers to agricultural development in each country. While the extent to which these sorts of constraints limit the possibilities for import substitution of vegetables in hotel purchases is not known precisely, one may speculate that their combined effect is significant. As the tourist industry in each country expands these impediments must be overcome if the hotel sector is to play an even greater role in promoting each nation's agricultural development objectives.

Dairy Products. Prospects for import substitution in the category of dairy products are encouraging in Vanuatu. Hotels already purchase 90% of their milk from local sources despite some reservations about its quality and the reliability of supply. More attention needs to be paid to the coordinated marketing of milk in Vanuatu. Import duties on milk, butter, and cream are a high 45% and give adequate protection to the developing local dairy industry. The government is presently very supportive of the cattle industry and as this sector develops local production of milk and other dairy products should increase, with increased purchases of the local product by hotels.

While the import content of dairy products served by hotels in Fiji is currently a low 4% (in contrast to 14% for the category of bread/dairy products/eggs in 1975 [Varley 1978]), the performance of the local dairy industry leaves much to be desired. The main problems constraining development of the industry involve poor management and husbandry practices, poor animal health and hygiene, land tenure arrangements, access to institutional credit, and the pricing and marketing of dairy products (Chandra 1983: chap. 8). While some of these problems are presently being addressed (Fiji 1985: sec. 5.2.128), there are no plans to modify the present level of subsidies to producers or to revise the level of

protection accorded to the processing industry. Existing levels of import duties (milk and cream 5%, butter 75%, cheese and curd 40%), together with import restrictions, seem more than sufficient to protect the local industry and a case exists for reducing such protective measures while eliminating subsidies. In any case, protection by way of subsidies will not in itself promote self-sufficiency unless the various constraints are addressed. Unless these obstacles to development are overcome, the import content of hotel purchases of dairy products is likely to increase in the future along with the dairy products import bill of the nation as a whole.

Groceries and Possibilities for Food Processing. The large percentage of imports in the hotels' purchases of groceries should occasion no surprise. While the hotels nominated unavailability of local supplies as the main reason for purchasing imported canned, frozen, and packaged foods, in general it would not be possible for local industry to compete in price or quality with imports. Accordingly, the import duties on canned, frozen, and preserved foods in the countries under review serve less to provide an umbrella of protection to local industry than as a source of government revenue.

There are some food processing plants in Vanuatu and Fiji but they are generally of small scale. There is some processing of meat and fish in each country.

The potential benefits from commercial agro-industrial projects include increased returns to growers, increased opportunities for employment, a reduction in food imports, and perhaps the generation of foreign exchange earnings. Commercial success in agro-processing requires an understanding of and capacity to manage technology transferred from overseas, security of market outlets, continuity of raw material supplies, and the maintenance of quality standards. Some specific reasons for underdevelopment of agro-processing in developing island nations include a long tradition of exporting unprocessed or semiprocessed food products and importing processed foods; limited availability and irregular supplies of raw produce, resulting in variable prices of essential imports; the high cost of importing canning equipment and materials; general lack of technical expertise; and a lack of marketing experience (see also Belisle 1984b:14).

While, in personal discussion, some officials hold out high hopes for expansion of food processing in the South Pacific, in general it seems unlikely that locally processed food products could compete in price and quality with imported groceries and canned and frozen foods. While

there may be some export and import-replacement potential in agro-processing, the overall effect of an expansion in each country's food processing sector in meeting hotel consumption would be small.

Beverages. Substitution possibilities for imported beverages in each country are limited.

Import substitution appears possible in Vanuatu in the case of beer and soft drinks. Plans are underway for a local brewery. Since beer imports bring in substantial revenue to the government (140% import duty) it is intended that lost import duties will be recouped through an excise tax on the local product and higher tariffs on imported beer (Vanuatu 1984: sec. 5.30).

The potential for Fiji hotels to purchase more local beverages is somewhat limited. A local brewery is already in operation. Perhaps more local juices could be purchased by hotels in the future as the agricultural sector and agro-processing industry expand but this will have only a marginal impact on the import content of hotel beverage purchases.

Additional Considerations

While the above discussion has highlighted the possibilities for import replacement in food generally, two sorts of considerations must figure in the final assessment of specific avenues to pursue.

One consideration is that, in certain instances, it might not be cost effective to produce a foodstuff locally even when no major impediments frustrate the objective.⁷ Small nations cannot afford to waste scarce resources in the quest for self-sufficiency when these resources can be better employed in alternative ways. In some cases real cost savings can be effected by importing particular foods and allocating available resources to development projects having more valued ends. Resources can be further misallocated when import duties are levied on products in order to stimulate domestic production. Not only does this raise the cost of living to residents of the country, but it also serves to increase the price of the holiday package to tourists. Policymakers in these countries must remain aware that protective efforts in the course of agricultural development can adversely affect tourism earnings.

The other consideration arises from the previous discussion of development as a multidimensional, rather than a narrowly economic, concept. It needs to be clearly understood that realization of the possibilities for import substitution in hotel food and beverage purchases is crucially dependent on changes in such diverse matters as traditional

modes of production, aspiration levels, attitudes toward work (especially paid employment), incentives to secure an education and acquire skills, as well as changes in the prevailing criteria for agricultural decision making. Even if various other constraints—such as access to finance, inadequate quality control, storage and distribution problems, and inadequate institutional support—can be overcome, the cost of lowering many of the other barriers to agricultural development may be high in terms of adverse sociocultural impact. Although economic anthropologists are currently investigating such issues in the explicit recognition that agricultural change must take place within the context of institutional change (Barlett 1984), a great deal more research is needed before we can adequately understand the broader implications of any large-scale substitution of domestic for imported produce.

Conclusions

While many reasons hotels purchase imported food and beverages—such as pricing, convenience of use, tourist tastes, and regularity of supplies—were cited by hoteliers to explain the preference for imported food items, the unavailability of the local product was the most prevalent of all reasons given. Also noteworthy is the importance of quality considerations in influencing the purchasing decisions of hotels. These two reasons go a large way to explain the import content of hotel food and beverage purchases in each country.⁸

Since it is the quality and quantity of locally produced foodstuffs that predominate in explaining hotel food and beverage import content, these two factors must be addressed when considering the possibilities for import substitution. While possibilities exist for greater purchases of local produce by hotels, unavailability and inferior quality of local products frequently act as barriers to reducing the import content of hotel food and beverage purchases. At present any avoidable losses of foreign exchange due to hotel imports are not significant compared to the total food and beverage import bill for Vanuatu and Fiji. As the tourist industry in Vanuatu and Fiji expands, however—and there is scope for expansion in each—the foreign exchange leakages, together with the implied loss of local production and employment, may prove substantial. Some recommendations have been made as to how links may be more closely forged between an expanding tourist industry and food production in each country. The more precise is our knowledge of the present and potential net economic impact of the tourist sector in Vanuatu and Fiji the greater the opportunity for sound policy making in the area of tourism development.

In the effort to better understand the potential for import substitution of the sorts of food and beverages purchased by tourist hotels more investigation must be undertaken to determine the operative constraints to agricultural development in small island nations. Clearly social scientists in many disciplines have an important role to play in determining the impact of alternative development policies. While economic considerations have been emphasized here, many of the policy measures to enhance the economic impact of tourism will have sociocultural and other implications that can outweigh the potential economic benefits. All such effects must be taken into account in determining appropriate policy measures. A concerted interdisciplinary effort is needed to expand our knowledge in this problem area.

NOTES

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1. In 1979 the estimated population of Vanuatu was 111,251. Tourism is an important and growing sector of the economy. In 1984 visitor arrivals totaled 95,615—31,615 by air and another 64,000 aboard cruise ships. Around 55% of all visitors come from Australia, 15% from New Caledonia, 10% each from New Zealand and Japan, and 3% each from Europe and North America. There are presently around 520 tourist rooms available but proposed developments would double this number by 1995. Between 1975 and 1984 gross tourism receipts averaged 10.5% of GDP and 27% of all exports. Tourism-generated employment represents 20% of total paid employment. For elaboration and documentation see Dwyer 1986.

2. In 1985 the estimated population of Fiji was 699,000. Tourism provides a major and expanding source of foreign exchange earnings for Fiji, second only to sugar exports. In 1984 visitor arrivals totaled 295,227—235,227 by air and another 60,000 aboard cruise ships. Between 1979 and 1984 on average 42% of all visitors to Fiji were from Australia, 21% from North America, 16% from New Zealand, 7% from Europe, and 6% from Japan. Lying along the main trans-Pacific air route, Fiji has seen its tourist numbers increase at 6% per annum on average this decade. The 1987 coups that transformed Fiji into a republic resulted in a reduction of tourist numbers but they are beginning to pick up again as the nation returns to normal. The number of tourist rooms available as of July 1984 was 4,038, 1,599 of which are of deluxe/first class quality. Between 1975 and 1984 gross tourism receipts ranged between 16% and 22% of GDP and averaged 35% of all exports. Tourism-generated employment is around 27% of total paid employment. For elaboration and documentation see Dwyer 1986.

3. For an overview of the economic costs and benefits of tourism to these nations see Dwyer 1986.
4. For Vanuatu in 1983 imports of food and beverages totaled Vatu 1,211 million or 22.1% of all imports (Vanuatu 1984: table 5.4). For Fiji in 1984 food imports totaled F\$487.1 million or 15.3% of all imports (Fiji 1985: 189, table D1). The government of Vanuatu lists rice, dairy products, canned fish, poultry, other meats and fish, fruit and vegetables, pasta, biscuits, sugar, flour, salt, coffee, cocoa, fats and oils, and beer as having "substantial import substitution potential" (Vanuatu 1984:65). The government of Fiji has emphasized possibilities for substituting domestic agricultural produce and livestock for imports in its latest development plan. Indeed, one of the major tourism sector objectives is to "increase the use of local agricultural and other produce in hotels so as to increase tourism value-added and to improve overall linkages with the rest of the economy" (Fiji 1985:88).
5. In Vanuatu, data were obtained from one large and three small resort hotels: two on the main island of Efate, one on Espiritu Santo, and one on Tanna. Together they account for about 20% of Vanuatu's available tourist accommodations. Only the two resort hotels on Efate were able to provide precise quantitative data. Three of the hotels, including the large resort hotel in Port Vila, are foreign owned. In Fiji data were obtained from one major resort hotel, one international hotel, three smaller tourist hotels, and a small resort hotel. The smaller hotels were unable to provide precise quantitative estimates of food and beverage purchases for each subcategory. The data for Fiji in Tables 1 and 2 are for the two large international hotels only. Both are over 90% foreign owned, are located on different sides of the main island Viti Levu, and account for just under five hundred rooms. Neither sample of hotels accommodates what might be regarded as an atypical or unrepresentative profile of foreign tourists that could bias the sorts of food purchases. The distribution and collection of the survey in Fiji was undertaken by the Department of Trade, Industry, and Tourism as a part of its ongoing research into agriculture and tourism as emphasized in Fiji's Ninth Development Plan (Fiji 1985). Unfortunately specific questions about hotels' purchasing profiles of meat, poultry, and fish were deleted from the questionnaire presented to hoteliers. Consequently my estimates of the import content of Fiji hotel purchases of meat, poultry, and fish rely heavily on hoteliers' estimates rather than on an analysis of hotel purchasing profiles of particular food items falling under these categories.
6. The methodology of this study is closely based on Belisle's valuable research for the Caribbean. The distinction between local food and imported food is based on his definitions (Belisle 1984a). "Imported food" comprises all imports ready for consumption and needing no further processing or packaging, or packaged within the nation without altering the form of the imported product, for example, local packaging of imported potatoes. "Local food" comprises all goods produced within the nation as well as food imports that require substantial processing. While the distinction is not precise (Belisle 1984a:822-823), in their responses to the questionnaire the hotel purchasing officers had no difficulty in classifying purchases according to the definitions.
7. A referee stressed this point.
8. This is the case throughout the South Pacific; see Dwyer 1988.

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GAUDICHAUD'S RECORD OF HAWAIIAN
VERNACULAR NAMES FOR PLANTS:
HAWAIIAN PLANT STUDIES 125

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Charles Gaudichaud collected plants in 1819 on three of the Hawaiian Islands. He published a book describing many novelties found on his world voyage (Gaudichaud 1826–1830), and there included vernacular names for some of them. Many others are found recorded in his number list of Hawaiian plants or on his specimens in Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris. Those names listed here are novelties, and are identified and are translated from his French orthography to the established Hawaiian one.

Introduction

On the voyage of the French Exploring Expedition on the *Uranie*, under Captain L. de Freycinet, the young botanist Charles Gaudichaud collected plant specimens. Many of these he brought back to France, where he studied and published on them. His book on the botany of the *Uranie* voyage was the first major publication on the Hawaiian flora. Some of his collections were lost in a shipwreck on the Falkland Islands, but how many is not now known. The *Uranie* was in the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands for twenty days in 1819. Of this time Gaudichaud was on shore for a total of seven days, at Kealahou, Lahaina, and Honolulu. On each of the islands—Hawaii, Maui, and Oahu—he disembarked from the ship, then tramped for the mountains. He had to traverse the seaport and the cultivated lowlands before reaching the

slopes of the mountains and encountering natural Hawaiian vegetation. On Hawaii he reached the rainforest; on west Maui he reached the wet cliffs with *Gunnera*; and on Oahu he reached the rainforest with *Aster*. He collected some two hundred species, a remarkable achievement.

Gaudichaud was alert to the value of the common names for local plants used by the Hawaiian people. He asked for and recorded these vernacular names, and many of them were published in his book. Also, in the Phanerogamie section of the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris there is his manuscript number list of his Hawaiian plant collections, numbers 1 to 201. For many of these numbered plants one or more vernacular names are recorded. I searched for these plants in the herbarium and found the majority of them; some bore additional names. Together these three sources give the first good record of the Hawaiian common names of plants. These are important because the Hawaiians had a very detailed knowledge of their plants.

Naturally Gaudichaud recorded these vernacular names from a French point of view and with a French spelling. This differed from the Hawaiian language as codified by the American missionaries. He used the letter *c*, not the *k*; the letter *r*, not the *l*; the letter *q*, not the *k*; the letter *y*, for the *i*; the letter *v*, not the *w*.

French versions that are different from the Hawaiian, but easily recognized equivalents, are not included in this paper. Such ones are like the following samples: oéa = 'ōhi'a; o élo = 'ohelo; ouaouayole = wawae'iole; ouré = 'ūlei; eyoloa = hi'aloa; poutéaoue = pukiawe.

New Vernacular Plant Names Recorded by Gaudichaud on the *Uranie* Voyage

aeouaou [= ae-uau], *Marsilea villosa* Kaulf.

ala-â-la [= 'ala'ala], *Eragrostis variabilis* (Gaud.) Hillebr.

alauenui [= 'ala-wai-nui], *Plectranthus parviflorus* Willd.

alolapouloa [= alola-puloa], *Waltheria indica* L.

amaou maou [= 'āma'uma'u], *Doryopteris decipiens* (Hook.) J. Sm.

aoua pouye [= 'awapuhi], *Zingiber Zerumbet* (L.) Roscoe in Sm.

aouou-pii [= 'ahuhu-pi'i], *Tephrosia purpurea* (L.) Pers.

arhihi [= ahihi], *Dodonaea eriocarpa* Sm.

avoukiveki [= 'āwikiwiki], *Strongylodon ruber* Vogel

avouquequi [= 'āwu-kuwekui], *Canavalia galeata* (Gaud.) Vogel

aya [= 'ai], *Eugenia malaccensis* L.

cacoucua [= kukukua], *Sporobolus virginicus* (L.) Kunth

calamalo [= kalamalō], *Sporobolus virginicus* (L.) Kunth

- caroré [= kalolē], *Adiantum Capillus-Veneris* L.
 couroué [= kalolē], *Pteris excelsa* Gaud.
 écoré garigari [= 'ekole-kali-kali], *Tribulus Cistoides* L.
 ecricri-naio [= 'ekalikali-naio], *Myoporum sandwicense* A. Gray
 émo-loa [= 'emoloa], *Oxalis corniculata* L.
 éné-éné [= 'ene'ene], *Phyllostegia parviflora* (Gaud.) Benth.
 éoule [= ē'ule], *Cardiospermum Halicacabum* L.
 e-u-ou [= e'u'ou], *Exocarpos Gaudichaudii* A. DC.
 hâu-houkâou [= hau-puhau], *Tacca Leontopetaloides* (L.) Kuntze
 i-é [= 'ie], *Freycinetia arborea* Gaud.
 inaleapii [= inalua-pi'i], *Cocculus Ferrandianus* Gaud.
 kahehe [= kâhihi], *Canavalia galeata* (Gaud.) Vogel
 kâkonakona, *Pilea microphylla* (L.) Liebm. and *Sporobolus virginicus* (L.) Kunth
 kamanou-manou [= kâmanumanu], *Boerhavia diffusa* L.
 kamanu-poe [= kamanu-po'e], *Boerhavia diffusa* L.
 kékoé koini [= kēkoē ko'ini], *Cleome spinosa* L.
 kiguérigè [= ?kikuelike], *Cocculus Ferrandianus* Gaud.
 kioéri [= kio'ele], *Hedyotis coriacea* Sm.
 koa-ï [= koa'ia], *Acacia Koaia* Hillebr., in part
 koari-péoune [= koali-peune], *Ipomoea alba* L.
 koari-plitè [= koali-pilite], *Ipomoea alba* L.
 kokokore [= kokokole], *Neraudia ovata* Gaud.
 koko-loa, *Lipochaeta lavarum* (Gaud.) DC.
 kouaourou [= kua'ulu], *Jacquemontia sandwicensis* A. Gray
 kouripéoune [= koali-poni], *Ipomoea indica* (N. L. Burm.) Merr.
 maalroue [= ma'alaue], *Jacquemontia sandwicensis* A. Gray
 mamake [= mamaki], *Cassia Gaudichaudi* Hook. & Arn.
 ma-oloa [= ma'oloa], *Santalum ellipticum* Gaud.
 maripa [= ma'alipa], *Jacquemontia sandwicensis* A. Gray
 mourou-koa [= mulukoa], *Jacquemontia sandwicensis* A. Gray
 naou-navu [= nau-nau], *Boerhavia diffusa* L.
 nee [= ne'e], *Lipochaeta lavarum* (Gaud.) DC.
 noo [= no'o], *Tribulus Cistoides* L.
 noono [= no'ono'o], *Tribulus Cistoides* L.
 ocole crémé-cari [= okole-kilemekali], *Adenostemma Lavenia* (L.) Kuntze
 oé [= oe], *Freycinetia arborea* Gaud.
 oega [= 'ōhi'a], *Metrosideros polymorpha* Gaud.
 oié-ara [= oie-ala], *Santalum Freycinetianum* Gaud.
 oïo [= 'ō'io], *Athyrium microphyllum* (Sm.) Alston

okolekrêmekari [= okole-kalemekali], *Adenostemma Lavenia* (L.)

Kuntze

onaow [= ona'u], *Solanum sandwicense* Hook. & Arn.

oniou [= oniu], *Merremia aegyptia* (L.) Urban

ono ono [= 'onu'onu], *Plumbago zeylanica* L.

oua-ouké [= wauke], *Broussonetia papyrifera* (L.) Vent.

ouai-noui [= alue-nui], *Plectranthus parviflorus* Willd.

ouaou [= wau], *Solanum Nelsoni* Dunal in A. DC.

oue-nui [= alue-nui], *Plectranthus parviflorus* Willd.

oué-oué [= huehue], *Cocculus Ferrandianus* Gaud.

ouiliwiri [= wiliwili], *Erythrina sandwicensis* Deg.

oui-oui [= wiwi], *Sophora chrysophylla* (Salisb.) Seem.

pacuye [= pakue], *Amaranthus viridis* L.

palapalaye [= palapalaie], *Lythrum maritimum* Humb. Bonpl. Kunth

pamakani, *Luteidiscus capillaris* (Gaud.) St. John

pāoma, *Lepidium o-waihiense* Cham. & Schlecht.

pāoma naou naou [= paoma-naunau], *Boerhavia diffusa* L.

paouare [= pā-wale], *Rumex giganteus* Ait.

papaé-kiri [= papae-kili], *Scaevola Gaudichaudiana* Cham.

pawouaré [= pā-wale], *Rumex giganteus* Ait.

peki [= peke], *Capsicum annuum* L.

peouaré [= pā-wale], *Rumex giganteus* Ait.

poé [= po'e], *Boerhavia diffusa* L.

poéi [= poehi], *Ipomoea cairica* (L.) Sweet

porena [= pō-lena], *Boerhavia diffusa* L.

préi [= pilei], *Canavalia galeata* (Gaud.) Vogel

quécué [= kuekue-ko'ini], *Piper methysticum* G. Forster

toutou-ai-âta [= kākū-ai-aka], *Jacquemontia sandwicensis* A. Gray

toue-noui [= kue-nui], *Delissea Grimesiana* (Gaud.) St. John

urame [= ulame], *Tribulus Cistoides* L.

Vernacular Names Identifiable Only to the Genus

caroré [= kā-lole], *Polypodium* sp.

coucue [= kukae], *Paspalum* sp.

coukahe [= kukae], *Paspalum* sp.

courepeou [= koali-peu], *Ipomoea* sp.

énéé [= 'ene'e], *Phyllostegia* sp.

palacai-ore [= pilikai-ole], *Ipomoea* sp.

NOTE

This is 125th in a series of papers, designed to present descriptions, revisions, and records of Hawaiian plants. The preceding papers have been published in B. P. Bishop Mus., Occ. Papers; *Calif. Acad. Sci. Proc.*; *Torrey Bot. Club Bul.*; *Lloydia*; *Pacific Sci.*; *Brittonia*; *Gray Herb. Contrib.*; *Polynesian Soc. Jour.*; *Brussels Jard. Bot. de l'État Bul.*, etc.

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EDITOR'S FORUM

LAPITA FISHING STRATEGIES: A REVIEW OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

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Introduction

The traditional economies of Oceanic societies place a heavy reliance on marine resources. This is a fact well documented throughout the islands of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. The fishing methods described ethnographically in these regions cover a wide array of techniques but, despite a number of locally unique behavioral and technological innovations, the fishing practices that provide the mainstay of Oceanic marine exploitation are marked by a high degree of conformity.

It has been argued that Polynesian and much of the Melanesian and eastern Micronesian fishing technology is derived from the Lapita Cultural Complex, whose bearers first colonized much of Oceania. For this reason the study of Lapita fishing is deemed by some archaeologists to be crucial to the understanding of later developments in Pacific fishing practices: "The Lapita Cultural Complex is . . . ancestral to the Polynesian cultures, and probably also to many of the cultures of Melanesia and Eastern Micronesia. In short, to understand the development of Polynesian fishing technology and behaviour, a knowledge of Lapita fishing strategies is crucial as these comprise the ancestral baseline" (Kirch and Dye 1979:55).

To date archaeological studies of Lapita fishing techniques have been carried out by Green (1979, 1986) and by Kirch and Dye (1979). These studies have drawn on the analysis of fishbone from Lapita middens, and also on the use of ethnographic analogy. The results of these studies point to a predominant inshore fishing adaptation of Lapita societies. The majority of the fishbone recovered is derived from fish species that inhabit the inshore coral-reef zones. Furthermore, although a number of bait hooks have now been recovered from the Massau Lapita sites (Kirch 1987), lure hooks are less common and seem to occur within late Lapita and Lapita-related contexts (Green 1986:132; Kirch and Yen 1982:243-244). These factors have led to the widely held view that Lapita fishing strategies were generally adapted to a reef-lagoon ecosystem (Green 1979; Kirch and Dye 1979).

However, despite the high degree of conformity between sites with regard to their fishbone components and the scarcity of artifactual evidence for offshore marine exploitation, it is incorrect to assume that the Lapita fishing strategies were adapted solely to reef-lagoon conditions. There is an observed selection among Lapita communities for dwelling sites close to reef-lagoon areas and the fishing evidence reflects this bias. This does not mean that Lapita people were not exploiting the full range of marine zones using the appropriate technology.

In this article linguistic evidence will be used to augment the archaeological and ethnographic material to build up a more complete picture of the full range of Lapita fishing adaptations. It will be shown that speakers of early Oceanic languages (and this would include most of the Lapita people) had words for the full range of fishing methods found among Oceanic fishing peoples up until recent times.

Given the wide spatial and temporal spread of Lapita culture, it is inappropriate to attempt to assign to the Lapita Cultural Complex one specific language. It is highly probable, however, that most, if not all, of the populations bearing Lapita culture spoke Austronesian languages, in particular languages belonging to the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian (Pawley and Green 1973; Shutler and Marack 1975). Proto-Oceanic (POC) is an interstage of Austronesian that probably broke up no later than 2,000 B.C. (Pawley and Green 1973, 1984) from which the contemporary languages of Melanesia east of longitude 136°E, Polynesia, and much of Micronesia are derived.

It is assumed here that because cultures showing features distinctive of Lapita are dated between 1,600 B.C. (Kirch and Hunt 1988) and the first centuries A.D., lexical items reconstructed to the level of POC would cast some light on Lapita culture. The languages of Fiji and Polynesia constitute a subgroup of Oceanic languages known as Proto-

Central Pacific (PCP). Since the Fiji–West Polynesia region was first settled by Lapita peoples, PCP reconstructions may also be of value. Although this same argument would also hold for Proto–Polynesian (PPN), that proto-language may have developed some time after the main Lapita colonization so PPN reconstructions are not noted here.

The subgrouping adopted here to allow POC reconstruction follows Ross (1986). Ross proposes a Western Oceanic group of Oceanic languages consisting of three high-order clusters (North New Guinea, Papuan Tip, and Meso–Melanesian) that are distinct from the Oceanic languages to the east of Santa Ysabel in the Solomons. This group of eastern languages does not constitute a subgroup of any of the Western Oceanic language clusters, but appears to be descended from early departures from POC (Ross 1986:449). In addition, Ross points out that there are four language groups in the eastern region that cannot be definitely grouped with the other eastern Oceanic languages. In this article the only member of this grouping that has been used to provide cognates of fish and fishing terms is that of the South East Solomons, which Ross suggests is most immediately related to the Western Oceanic languages at the level of POC.

For the purposes of this article a POC item is reconstructed if regular cognates are found in Oceanic languages to the east of Santa Ysabel (including the languages of the South East Solomons) and in a language or languages of one of the Western clusters. A consensus has yet to be reached concerning the exact relationship between the eastern group and the languages of the South East Solomons. The term Proto–Remote Oceanic (PRO) would seem to be an appropriate representation of a lexical item reconstructed from both these language groups, but this proto-language may in fact be synonymous with POC. I take a conservative approach here, listing an item as PRO when (1) cognates from both the South East Solomons and the eastern language group imply a proto-form but (2) no reflexes from the Western Oceanic languages can be found that allow the reconstruction to be carried back to POC.

The full range of previously reconstructed POC fishing terms as well as several terms previously unrecorded will be examined. A comparison will then be made between what is known archaeologically and what conclusions can be drawn from the linguistic evidence concerning Lapita fishing.

Traditional Fishing Practices in Oceania

In Oceania, fishing and other types of marine exploitation play a dominant role in the subsistence economy. This is particularly true in the cen-

tral and eastern Pacific. The major food plants and domestic animals were introduced to most areas of Oceania by man and indigenous species of flora and fauna decrease as one moves east into Polynesia. This is less true of the marine ecology and, with the exception of New Zealand, most Oceanic fish species are represented throughout most of the islands of Oceania.

Dozens of named fishing methods have been recorded ethnographically in Oceania but most of these fit into a small number of general categories representing basic technological and behavioral strategies. A representative sample of the recorded techniques from both atolls and high islands is presented below.

In the Palau islands Masse (1986) has defined six general fishing categories. These are spearing, netting, poisoning, line fishing, basket trapping, and pond trapping. In Niuatoputapu Kirch and Dye (1979) observed at least thirty-seven named fishing techniques that fell into the categories of netting, angling, spearing, trapping, diving, and poisoning. In Hawai'i Kirch (1982) identified eight fishing categories: poisoning, spearing, trapping, shallow line-fishing, deep line-fishing, netting, and trolling.

These fishing methods all fall within the general categories of netting, hook and line fishing, trolling, trapping, spearing, and poisoning.

Netting

The term "netting" covers a wide range of techniques from dip netting, a one-person operation, to set or drag netting, which can require the cooperation of ten or more people. In Niuatoputapu Kirch and Dye note that seine netting is one of the most productive fishing strategies and that more fish are taken with nets than with any other fishing method (1979:61, 67). They also make the important point that netting is an extremely complex fishing strategy: Although it relies on a fairly simple technology it requires a complexity of behavioral strategies (Kirch and Dye 1979:67).

Spearing

Spears are used either as primary equipment while diving or wading in the shallows or as secondary equipment to assist in the landing of fish taken from canoes or trapped in stone weirs or pond traps.

Ethnographic studies in both Palau and Niuatoputapu indicate that

night spearing with torches can yield very large catches. In Niuatoputapu this is the most productive form of fishing after seine netting (Masse 1986:88; Kirch and Dye 1979:57).

Hook and Line Fishing

This type of fishing is usually conducted either from the reef-edge or from a canoe. Masse distinguishes between long-line fishing used to catch fish from the outer faces of the reef with hand-held lines and shallow water short-line fishing usually carried out inside the lagoon or just off the reef-edge from canoes. Rod fishing from the reef-edge using short lines would also be included in this category.

A wide variety of fishhook types are manufactured in Oceania and there have been a number of studies of ethnographic and archaeological fishhook assemblages (Anell 1955; Davidson 1967; Kashko 1976; Sinoto 1968; and others). Johannes (1981) argues that this variety of shapes is functionally determined, relating to both species and habitat; material of manufacture would also play a determinant role in hook form.

Trapping

Trapping is a category that covers a wide range of specialized fishing methods including the use of basket traps, ponds, and weirs.

Basket traps vary in size according to the type of fish being sought. In Palau they are usually constructed of bamboo and are rectangular in shape. There are at least fifteen different varieties recorded from Palau, each designed for specific fish species. These traps are baited, sunk to the required depth, and sometimes camouflaged with rock or lumps of coral.

Weirs are generally constructed of stone or coral, but can also be made of wood in the form of a fence. They form an enclosure somewhere between the low and the high tide marks with the open end facing the shore. The fish enter the enclosure during high tide and are trapped as the sea retreats. The fish can then be collected with nets or with spears.

Ponds are usually constructed of coral or stone blocks between the high and the low tide marks. They are complete enclosures that are submerged at high tide but at low tide protrude slightly above the water line. Used to trap fish, they can also be used to keep fish alive before a feast (Titcomb 1952). Basket traps, ponds, and weirs can all be baited with a ground or floating bait.

Trolling

Trolling is a specialized method designed to catch pelagic fish species. A lure is used to which a hook is attached. This is then pulled across the water and in this way resembles the movements of a surface-swimming fish. The larger pelagic fish are attracted by the movement and take the lure.

Lures are generally made of some shiny material such as pearlshell, turtle shell or polished bone. Stone could be used in those places where other materials are not available. Trolling is done from canoes outside the reef zone.

Poisoning

Poisoning of fish is carried out using poisons derived from plants such as the *Barringtonia asiatica* tree or the vine *Derris eliptica*. The poison is either put into containers and sunk into crevices and pools in the reef or it is mixed with sand and sprinkled into the target area. According to Masse poisoning is a labor intensive activity in Palau and for this reason is only done before a major feast when large quantities of fish are required (1986:92). In some areas of Oceania, the Southern Cooks for example, poisoning is conducted on a much smaller scale, often by a single individual.

Oceanic Marine Environment

The marine environment in most parts of Oceania falls into a number of quite distinct fishing zones. These are the reef-flat, the reef-edge, the lagoon, and the open-sea. These correspond quite closely to the four biotype zones identified by Kirch in Hawai'i: the inshore, benthic, pelagic, and neritic zones (1982:45).

Open-sea Zone

The open-sea zone includes Kirch's pelagic and benthic zones. The pelagic zone is the surface layer where the pelagic fish such as bonito and tuna swim and the benthic zone is the lower layer where the bottom-feeding fish are found. These latter species include the labrids, the scarids, and the groupers.

In Niuatoputapu, open-sea fishing is said to be more productive than fishing from the reef but the cost in terms of the capital investment in

ocean-going craft, among other things, makes the open sea a less important source of marine food. Furthermore, in Niuatoputapu (and probably throughout most of Oceania) the open sea is considered dangerous and in some cases is feared (Kirch and Dye 1979:60).

In general the open sea is highly productive but usually a less important source of everyday subsistence. The supply of fish from this source is less reliable due to limitations of access and variable success rates.

Reef-edge

The reef-edge is the seaward face of the fringing reef and is one of the most important micro-environmental marine zones. Not only does this area contain the widest range of species but it can be fished using a number of different techniques.

Lagoon

The lagoon is traditionally an important source of seafood and in some cases is said to provide the bulk of sea products. In many islands, however, a majority of the fish caught in the lagoon are actually taken from around the coral heads of the reef-flat and the reef-edge; the waters of the lagoons themselves do not provide a large quantity of fish.

Reef-flat

The reef-flat is a coralline ledge that lies between the littoral zone and the lagoon, on the lagoon side of the fringing reef. On uplifted coral reef islands (Makatea islands) the reef-flat extends from the shore to the reef-edge and is usually covered by no more than a meter or two of water at high tide. The reef-flat consists of a series of coral heads, surge channels, and pools that can be fished at high tide with seine nets over the channels and at low tide with spears, dip nets, and poisons.

The reef-flat is easily accessible and can be fished using a wide variety of techniques. The quantity and variety of fish found there is also high. These factors make this one of the most economically important fishing zones in much of Oceania.

Table 1 lists sixteen of the most commonly caught families of fish in Oceania and the environment from which they are taken. The selection of fish is based on surveys from a number of different areas and includes both ethnographic and archaeological information. The areas surveyed include the Society Islands (Leach, Intoh, and Smith 1984), Palau

TABLE 1. Marine Habitat of Commonly Caught Fish

Fish Families	Open-sea	Reef-edge	Lagoon*	Reef-flat
Acanthuridae		X	X	X
Balistidae		X		X
Belonidae	X	X		
Carangidae	X	X		
Carcharhinidae	X	X		
Chaetodontidae		X		X
Diodontidae		X		X
Epinephelidae		X		
Holocentridae		X		X
Katsuwonidae	X			
Labridae	X	X		X
Lethrinidae	X			X
Lutjanidae	X			X
Mugilidae	X	X		
Mullidae		X	X	
Scaridae		X		X

Sources: Habitat and fishing methods relating to these fish have been taken from the following: Munroe (1967), Green (1986), Kirch and Dye (1979), Bagnis et al. (1972), and Masse (1986).

*Most reef fish inhabit the lagoon but they are usually caught around the reef-flat and reef-edge.

(Masse 1986), New Zealand (R. Nichol pers. comm. 1984) and Rarotonga (Baquie 1977). These areas were chosen because they represent a variety of marine environments. The Society Islands and Rarotonga represent high islands with large areas of lagoon. Niuatoputapu is an eroded high island with a small lagoon and large expanses of reef-flat. Palau is an archipelago ranging from uplifted limestone islands to atolls. New Zealand represents the southernmost and coldest extreme in which Oceanic people fished. A high degree of similarity was found in the types of fish sought, although there were regional specializations based on particular marine conditions.

Table 2 lists the most commonly used methods of catching the fish listed in Table 1.

The data in Tables 1 to 3 indicate clearly that the most commonly caught fish species in Oceania are those found in inshore waters, particularly around the reef-edge and the reef-flat. It is also in these zones that the widest range of fishing techniques can be used. Large-scale off-shore trolling expeditions aimed at bonito and other pelagic fish have been noted for a number of regions of Oceania but the importance of

TABLE 2. Commonly Caught Fish and Their Usual Methods of Capture

Fish Families	Net	Hook	Lure	Trap	Poison	Spear
Acanthuridae	X	X		X	X	X
Balistidae		X			X	
Belonidae		X				
Carangidae		X	X	X		
Carcharhinidae		X				
Chaetodontidae	X	X			X	
Diodontidae	X					X
Epinephelidae	X	X			X	X
Holocentridae	X	X		X		
Katsuwonidae			X			
Labridae	X	X		X	X	X
Lethrinidae	X	X		X	X	X
Lutjanidae	X	X		X	X	X
Mugilidae	X	X		X	X	X
Mullidae	X			X	X	X
Scaridae	X			X	X	X

Sources: See Table 1.

TABLE 3. Usual Fishing Methods Employed in the Major Fishing Zones

Zones	Net	Hook	Lure	Trap	Poison	Spear
Open-sea		X	X			
Reef-edge	X	X			X	X
Lagoon	X	X		X		
Reef-flat	X	X		X	X	X

these strategies in terms of subsistence may have been overstressed. Masse suggests that in Palau, for example, the social values of trolling in terms of prestige and access to wealth may have been more important than the subsistence value (1986:108).

In general, Oceanic fishing strategies seem to be highly specialized, with a wide range of techniques aimed at particular species and for use in specific conditions. From this full range, communities choose those techniques most appropriate to their local environment and seasonal setting. Consequently, although most groups practice all the general methods of fish capture outlined above, the most economically important strategy in any island is dependent on the local marine environment and on meteorological conditions. In the highly developed reef-lagoon ecosystems those species taken with nets, poisons, traps, and

spears are predominantly caught, while in the higher islands, such as those of East Polynesia, hooks and lures are more commonly used to catch the offshore species. This is reflected in the wide variety of hook shapes represented in archaeological collections from East Polynesia.

Lapita Fishing

Although early reports on the Lapita Cultural Complex tend to be dominated by descriptions of pottery, some more recent papers have been concerned with other aspects of Lapita culture. Several of these papers have taken up the issue of Lapita fishing strategies.

In a summary of the evidence for Lapita fishing Green (1979:36) argued for a predominance of reef and shallow-water lagoon exploitation. This was based on the fishbone finds in a Lapita site on the Main Reef Islands, Site SE-RF-2 (Green 1976:257) and on Tongatapu (Poulsen 1967). Since then a detailed report on fishbones from three sites on Niuatoputapu has been completed by Kirch and Dye (1979) and the SE-RF-2 material has been reanalyzed using an improved reference collection and methodology (Green 1986). Both of these studies confirm a predominance of fish taken from the inshore zones, particularly the reef-edge and the reef-flat, and only a very small number of pelagic and benthic fish species. These latter usually require a trolling or hook and line method of capture. A summary of the identified fish families represented in Lapita middens appears in Table 4.

The archaeological evidence in the form of artifacts associated with fishing also points to reef and shallow-water exploitation. So far few one-piece hooks have been recovered from Lapita sites and lures only appear toward the end of the Lapita sequence. This is significant in view of the large number of hooks recovered from later sites in East Polynesia.

Together with the ethnographic studies of Oceanic fishing, the evidence suggests that Lapita fishing was based on the use of techniques for inshore exploitation including netting, spearing, trapping, and poisoning (Kirch and Dye 1979; Green 1979, 1986). Furthermore, Kirch and Dye have argued that the Lapita practice of inshore fishing was an adaptation to a tropical South West Pacific reef-lagoon environment. Such an adaptation occurs in response to the relative danger of venturing outside the reef zone and to the greater economic return of certain types of inshore fishing in these environments (Kirch and Dye 1979:60, 67, 72-73). There is some question, however, whether we are observing

TABLE 4. Fish Identified in Lapita Middens and Their Usual Methods of Capture

Fish Family	Net	Hook	Lure	Trap	Poison	Spear
Acanthuridae	X	X		X		X
Balistidae	X	X				X
Belonidae	X	X	X			X
Carangidae	X	X		X		X
Diodontidae	X					X
Holocentridae	X	X				X
Labridae	X	X		X		X
Lethrinidae	X	X				X
Lutjanidae	X	X				X
Mullidae	X	X		X		X
Ostraciidae	X					
Pempheridae						X
Scaridae	X	X		X		X
Scombridae	X	X	X			
Scorpaenidae		X				X
Serranidae	X	X			X	X
Sparidae	X			X	X	X
Sphyraenidae		X	X			

Sources: See Table 1.

the full range of Lapita fishing adaptations, given the limited environmental areas where sites have been located. There is certainly a preference for reef-lagoon habitation settings among Lapita communities and therefore the archaeological evidence pointing to the most efficient means of exploiting such settings is no surprise. Yet the evidence may reflect a bias based on the specific environment in which the majority of excavated Lapita sites are located. In order to investigate the full range of Lapita fishing strategies the linguistic evidence will be reviewed. This material should be free of any environmentally influenced bias.

Linguistic Evidence for Lapita Fishing

The reconstruction of early Oceanic fishing terms provides fairly direct evidence of the type of techniques used by Lapita fishermen. At least sixteen such terms have been reconstructed to date (see Table 5). Five of the six main fishing categories practiced in Oceania today are represented at the level of POC. This includes five terms for netting, three referring to hook and line fishing, two terms referring to fish trapping

TABLE 5. Fishing Terms Reconstructed to POC or PCP

Language	Reconstruction	Gloss	Source
POC	*kau	fishhook	Grace 1969
POC	*kima	fishhook	Grace 1969
POC	*kupenga	fishing net	Grace 1969
POC	*pani	bait or lure	Blust 1978
POC	*bintu (l, r)	kind of fish or crab trap	Blust 1980
POC	*tupa	fish poison	Grace 1969
POC	*ndeke	pocket of seine net	Biggs 1965
POC	*alap	to draw in nets	Grace 1969
POC	*uto	net float	Grace 1969
POC	*pupu	basket trap	Lincoln 1978
POC	*mpaya	fishing lure	Pawley and Green 1984
POC	*tail	to catch fish	Blust 1976
POC	*puko	fishing net; seine	Blust 1976
POC	*matau	fishhook	
PPN	*matau	fishhook	
GIL	*matau	fishhook	
PCP	*yapo	to fish; fishing line	Hockett 1976
PCP	*qapa	net gauge	Hockett 1976

and one term each for the techniques of poisoning and lure fishing. No term for spearing has been recorded but as one of the simplest fishing techniques and also one of the most productive it is also likely to have been practiced. The reconstructions for hook, lure, and bait suggest that angling techniques were important to early Oceanic speakers.

A large number of fish names have also been reconstructed to POC, PRO, or PCP. While these terms do not necessarily indicate that these particular fish were caught by Lapita people they do give some indication of the extent of early Oceanic marine knowledge. Fifty-three fish names have been reconstructed in Tables 6 and 7; interestingly, a large number of these fish have been found in Lapita middens.

Of the fifty-three fish names listed in Tables 6 and 7, twenty-one terms refer to clearly identifiable families at the level of POC or PRO. These fish cover the full range of marine habitats (Table 8). Four are usually found in the open-sea zone, six are found either in the open-sea or reef-edge zones, and ten are found only around the coral of the reef-edge and reef-flat. Of these twenty-one families at least eight are usually caught using hooks, two with lures, and the remainder with varied techniques including netting, spearing, and poisoning. Eleven of these families (52 percent) have been found in Lapita middens.

TABLE 6. Lexicon of Previously Unrecorded Reconstructions of Fish Names

	Language	Reconstruction or Cognate	Gloss
1.	POC	*qalu	<i>Sphyræna</i> sp., or other long-bodied fish; barracuda
	Titan	al	thick-bodied barracuda
	Nauna	Kil	thick-bodied barracuda
	Penchal	kil	thick-bodied barracuda
	'Are 'are	raru	pike fish
	Nggela	alu	barracuda
	Sa'a	salu	barracuda
	Lou	kl	thick-bodied barracuda
	Seimat	al-	thick-bodied barracuda
	Wuvulu	al-	thick-bodied barracuda
2.	POC	*qawa	<i>Chanos chanos</i> , milkfish or salmon herring
	PPN	*'awa	milkfish-salmon herring
	Fijian	yawa	milkfish
	Gilbertese	bane-awa	milkfish
		awa-tai	milkfish
	Lau	hakwa	milkfish
	To'aba'ita	thakwa	milkfish
3.	POC	*paRi	ray (generic term)
	PPN	*fai	ray (generic term)
	Arosi	hari	fish, ray
	Lau	fali	ray
	Fijian	vai	ray
	To'aba'ita	fali	stingray
	Mota	vari	stingray
	Vangunu	tape bari	stringray
4.	POC	*qume	<i>Naso</i> sp., unicorn fish
	Lau	'ume	black flattish fish size of mullet
	To'aba'ita	uume, ume	<i>Naso</i> sp.
	Langalanga	ume	<i>Naso</i> sp.
	Arosi	ume	<i>Naso</i> sp.
	Bauro East	a'ume	<i>Naso</i> sp.
	Mota	ume	<i>Naso</i> sp.
	Yapese ^a	quum	type of fish, unicorn fish
5.	POC	*sumu	Balistidae
	PPN	*sumu	Balistidae
	Fijian	sumusumu	<i>Tetrodon</i> ^b
		cumu	Balistidae, triggerfish
	Lau	humu	triggerfish
	Mota	sumu	fish sp.

TABLE 6. Continued

	Language	Reconstruction or Cognate	Gloss
6.	PRO Sa'a Arosi Mota	*marea marea marea marea	species of small fish or eel small fresh-water fish species of small fish or eel species of eel
7.	POC Gilbertese Roviana	*manupa manua manuva	fish species large bunni fish large grey hawkfish
8.	POC *PPN Gilbertese Roviana Arosi Nggela Palauan Chamorro To'aba'ita	*nupu *nofu nou novu nohu novu now nufo nofu	Scorpaenidae scorpionfish, stonefish Scorpaenidae rockfish Scorpaenidae rockfish stonefish stonefish a fish of ashen color resembling a stone
9.	POC Lau Mota Palauan Marshallese	*meRa amera mera merat merā	species of fish, possibly parrot fish parrot fish a fish species a fish species a fish species
10.	POC Arosi Gilbertese Lau Ulawa Bauro East Ponape	*mpumpu bubu bubu bubu- pupu pupu pwuhpw	Balistidae <i>Balistes</i> sp. triggerfish prefix to many fish names triggerfish triggerfish triggerfish
11.	POC/PRO Arosi Gilbertese	*ikari i'ari ikari	Albulidae sp. bonefish bonefish
12.	POC/PRO PPN Gilbertese	*wete wete tewe	<i>Mulloidichthys</i> sp. goatfish goatfish
13.	PRO PPN Fijian Arosi Bauro East Kahua Lau	*qono *qono ogo ono ono ono ono	<i>Sphyræna</i> sp. barracuda barracuda barracuda barracuda barracuda barracuda

TABLE 6. Continued

	Language	Reconstruction or Cognate	Gloss
14.	PRO	*tipitipi	Chaetodontidae sp.
	PPN	*tifitifi	butterfly fish
	Fijian	tivitivi	butterfly fish
	Mota	tivitivi	butterfly fish
15.	PRO	*mpanda	<i>Acanthocybium solandri</i>
	PPN	*paala	<i>A. solandri</i>
	Gilbertese	baara	<i>A. solandri</i>
16.	PCP	*saputu	Lutjanidae or Lethrinidae sp.
	PPN	*sa(a)putu	Lutjanidae sp.
	Fijian	sabutu	Lethrinidae sp.
17.	PCP	*kapa	Mugilidae sp.
	PPN	*kafa	diamond-scaled mullet
	Fijian	kava	mullet sp.
18.	PCP	*mpalangi	Acanthuridae sp.
	PPN	*palangi	Acanthuridae sp.
	Fijian	balangi	<i>Acanthurus teuthis</i>

^aIt remains uncertain whether Yapese is in fact an Oceanic language.

^b*Tetrodon* and Balistidae are closely related.

Conclusions

From a summary of fish species represented in Lapita middens and the scarcity of offshore-fishing gear recovered from Lapita sites, it has previously been argued that trolling and hook and line fishing were a minor component of Lapita fishing strategies. It has also been suggested that the fishing strategies represented archaeologically reflect a Lapita adaptation to tropical South West Pacific reef-lagoon ecosystems. The linguistic evidence, however, suggests that the speakers of early Oceanic languages were aware of and had names for a variety of fish found in all the marine zones and possessed the technology to catch them. On linguistic grounds it would be difficult to argue that there was any substantial difference between the practices of early Oceanic fishermen and those of recent Oceania.

The discrepancy between the linguistic and archaeological evidence relates to the range of environments in which Lapita sites have been located. Lapita communities selected reef-lagoon localities, quite possi-

TABLE 7. **Lexicon of Previously Recorded Reconstructions of Fish Names**

	Language Reconstruction		Gloss	Source
1.	POC	*qabuqabu	fish species	Blust 1980
2.	POC	*bakuku	presumably sea bream	Blust 1980
3.	POC	*kuRaw	edible marine fish	Blust 1980
4.	POC	*palata	fish species	Blust 1980
5.	POC	*paya	kind of small fish (sardine or anchovy?)	Blust 1980
6.	POC	*puyu	a fish resembling the climbing perch	Blust 1980
7.	POC	*buna	fish species	Blust 1980
8.	POC	*katambak	fish species	Blust 1980
9.	POC	*ki(k)kik	marine fish species	Blust 1980
10.	POC	*kiteng	marine fish species with venomous dorsal spines	Blust 1980
11.	POC	*Ringaw	fish species	Blust 1980
12.	POC	*sepet	fish species	Blust 1980
13.	POC	*tamban	fish species, sardine species	Blust 1980
14.	POC	*qatu	bonito	Pawley 1972
15.	POC	*kawakawa	grouper	Grace 1969
16.	POC	*kananse	mullet	Grace 1969
17.	POC	*pakiwak	shark	Grace 1969
18.	POC	*kulapu	kind of fish	Blust 1976
19.	POC	*la(m)pa	fish species	Blust 1973
20.	POC	*punsa	kind of fish	Blust 1976
21.	POC	*lawa	kind of fish	Blust 1976
22.	POC	*mamin	kind of fish—wrasse	Blust 1976
23.	POC	* <i>(n)</i> tangari	fish species	Blust 1972
24.	POC	*nsansa	kind of fish	Milke 1961
25.	POC	*kalia	reef fish, grouper, double-headed parrot fish	Blust 1976
26.	POC	*konga	kind of fish	Blust 1976
27.	POC	*sin(nsa)	kind of fish	Blust 1976
28.	POC	*tio	kind of barbelled fish	Blust 1976
29.	PCP	*ntonu	fish species	Hockett 1976
30.	PCP	*poqo	a small fish	Hockett 1976
31.	PCP	*qulapi	parrot fish	Hockett 1976
32.	PCP	*ngka(n)si	fish species, shellfish species	Hockett 1976
33.	PCP	*ngkio	fish species	Hockett 1976
34.	PCP	*lai	fish species	Hockett 1976
35.	PCP	*maqo(maqo)	kind of fish	Hockett 1976

TABLE 8. Fish Families Identified to POC, PRO, or PCP

Fish Family	Marine Zone(s)	Capture Method(s)	Lapita Middens
Acanthuridae	reef-edge	net/hook	present
Albulidae	open-sea/reef-edge	hook	absent
Balistidae	reef-edge/reef-flat	hook/poison	present
Belonidae	reef-edge	hook/lure	present
Carangidae	open-sea/reef-edge	hook	present
Carcharhinidae	open-sea/reef-edge	hook	absent
Chaetodontidae	reef-edge	net/hook	absent
Channidae	reef-edge	hook/net	absent
Dyastidae	open-sea	hook	absent
Engraulidae	lagoon/open-sea	net	absent
Epinephelidae	open-sea/reef-edge	net/hook	absent
Katsuwonidae	open-sea	lure	absent
Labridae	reef-edge	hook	present
Mugilidae	reef-edge/reef-flat	net/hook	absent
Mullidae	open-sea/reef-edge	trap/spear	present
Nemipteridae	reef-edge/reef-flat	hook	present
Peristidae	open-sea	hook	absent
Scombridae	open-sea	hook/lure	present
Scorpaenidae	reef-edge/reef-flat	hook	present
Sparidae	reef-edge	net/poison	present
Sphyraenidae	open-sea/reef-edge	lure	present

bly because of the ease of marine exploitation, but they were not technologically restricted to the exploitation of these areas.

Green (1986) has already pointed out that the archaeological evidence on Anutan fishing suggests a heavy reliance on angling. This is an adaptation in response to an offshore submarine plateau that provided excellent fishing using long-line bait hooks. The dates for these sites suggest they were contemporaneous with Lapita culture (Green 1986; Yen and Gordon 1973:92). The Anutan case is a clear example of an Oceanic community of a similar antiquity to Lapita culture that selected offshore fishing techniques as a response to local conditions, and it is highly probable that Lapita peoples also practiced such a strategy. It is assumed that when Lapita sites are excavated in non-reef-lagoon environments the full range of fishing adaptations will become known.

NOTES

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Language sources used in the text are:

Proto-		Mota	Codrington 1896
Polynesian	Hooper n.d.	Nauna	Blust 1980
'Are'are	Blust 1980	Nggela	Fox 1955
Arosi	Fox 1970	Palauan	*
Bauro (East)	Barnett 1978	Penchal	Blust 1980
Bauro (West)	Barnett 1978	Ponapese	*
Cebuano	Blust 1980	Roviana	Waterhouse 1949
Chamorro	*	Sa'a	Ivens 1918
Fijian	Capell 1973	Savosavo	Blust 1980
Gilbertese	Sabatier 1971	Seimat	Blust 1980
Ilokano	Blust 1980	Titan	Blust 1980
Kahua	†	To'aba'ita	Akimichi n.d.
Langalanga	Blust 1980	Ulawa	Barnett 1978
Lau	Barnett 1978	Wuvulu	*
Lou	Blust 1980	Vangunu	Lichtenberk pers. comm.
Malay	Blust 1980	Yapese	*
Marshallese	*		

*Although a complete range of Micronesian dictionaries is available, all Micronesian cognates listed in the text have been taken from the Micronesian Finderlist with Semantic Codes (Computer printout, 29 June 1981) produced by the Linguistics Department of the University of Hawaii.

†Barnett 1978 lists these lexical items as being from Santa Ana. In this text "Kahua" is used for the language of Santa Ana Island following the convention of Tryon and Hackman (1983:37).

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REVIEWS

Catherine A. Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and Their Challenge to Western Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988. Pp. 280, illus. US\$35.00 cloth. US\$13.95 paper.

Reviewed by Donald H. Rubinstein, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam

To understand the emotional lives of people of a different culture, to sense "how it feels" to be a coral islander or Melanesian highlander, is what motivates many anthropologists to embark on the adventure of research in faraway places. Catherine Lutz's interest in the relationship between culture and emotion, particularly within a society of egalitarian gender relations, led her to Ifaluk, a small coral atoll in the western Caroline Islands. *Unnatural Emotions* is a description of "everyday life on Ifaluk, whose people speak about emotions in ways that reflect their values, their power struggles, and their unique environment" (p. 3).

Lutz's approach to understanding emotions is primarily through language; the problem becomes one of "translation of emotional lives across cultures" (p. 8). In this venture the author is informed by recent writings in cognitive anthropology and ethnopsychology in which natural language is the basic data. Contrasted to this methodology is an earlier school of psychology-oriented anthropologists whose fieldwork armamentarium included a number of projective tests and eliciting tools, as well as underlying assumptions about personhood and emotions.

Lutz made naturalistic observations of emotions as they occurred in everyday life and used several methods to gain understanding of indigenous conceptualizations of the emotions. She collected definitions of fifty-eight emotion-related terms and used card-sorting tasks requiring people to rank by intensity situations that they had already described as emotion related. She also interviewed adults and children on recent emotional experiences. She used two versions of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) to prompt stories replete with emotional themes and language. Like all strangers and ethnographers, Lutz also learned about Ifaluk emotions by the painful incidents of her own misunderstandings of cultural differences. But most important was her "daily listening to people as they described present and past events to each other and made emotional sense of them" (p. 46).

The core of this book (chapters 5–7) is a discussion of three Ifaluk emotional concepts. One concept, *fago*, the author translates as "compassion/love/sadness"; another, *song*, as "justifiable anger"; and the third, *rus*, as "panic/fright/surprise." Lutz has a gift for sensitive description and she writes beautifully, in places poetically. Many passages are worth quoting at length, but one where Lutz introduces the emotional concept *fago* will give the reader the flavor of this book:

In their use of that word [*fago*] the people of Ifaluk communicate a central part of their view of human relationships; they impart their sense of the place of suffering in their lives, of the naturalness of interpersonal kindness in the face of that pain, and of their feeling that maturity consists, above all, in the ability to nurture others. *Fago* speaks to the sense that life is fragile, that connections to others both are precious and may be severed through death or travel, that love may equal loss. *Fago* is uttered in recognition of the suffering that is everywhere and in the spirit of a vigorous optimism that human effort, most especially in the form of caring for others, can control its ravages. (P. 119)

Situating this term within the context of everyday life on Ifaluk, Lutz describes different forms that need and nurturance take: in illness, in death, and in circumstances where one is without kin. Her argument here goes beyond that of a linguistic definition of the word per se. The Ifaluk term is central to the islanders' moral ideology "that a durable and automatic link exists between the suffering of one person and the nurturing of others" (p. 121). In this sense the term marks particular

kinds of relationships, as between the sick and the healthy, or between the dying person and his or her survivors. The term also establishes a moral ideal of the nurturer as an individual of maturity and, implicitly, of power. "Gods, chiefs, parents, and elders all maintain the position and respect they command through the exercise of this emotion" (p. 140).

The central place of "compassion" (*fago*) in the emotional and moral world of the Ifaluk, Lutz argues, is related to the precarious reality of life on a small, bounded, and environmentally vulnerable atoll. This emotional concept is adaptive in various ways—"by articulating a notion of collective responsibility, by motivating the food sharing and the kind treatment of visitors which allow for post-typhoon survival, and by legitimizing the chiefs as individuals whose *fago* for commoners helps to ensure the well-being of the island" (p. 150).

In a similar manner Lutz discusses the underlying assumptions and nuanced meanings of *song* and *rus*. She describes a number of small scenarios by which children (and ethnographers) come to understand the meaning and moral force of these emotional concepts. She also compares these Ifaluk terms with their English translations, for example, *song* with the American-English emotion concept of anger, and relates these differences to the differences between the two social systems. As in any good ethnographic writing, Lutz provides a window onto the experience of another cultural group. In this book, additionally, that window is slightly glazed, so that its mirrored surface offers in shifting juxtaposition a contrast between two cultural conceptions of emotional experience.

In reading this book, one gains a sense of a people who are emotionally fine-tuned to avoid interpersonal offense and affront and to perceive others' needs and desires. The most valued demeanor is one of "calmness"; "everyone loves those who are [calm]" (p. 139), and the calm person is seen as "compassionate" because he does not alarm or frighten others. "Justifiable anger" is seen as a socially corrective rather than disruptive emotion, because it serves to "identify instances of behavior that threaten the moral order" (p. 157), such as the failure to share food or other resources, the failure to show respect towards a person of higher status, and other moral lapses. Fearfulness is frequently extolled, especially fearfulness of others, for it results in gentle and appropriate behavior. Socialization practices in Ifaluk families focus on this explicit linkage; Lutz describes how parents instill fear in their children by impersonating a child-devouring spirit and by continual reference to the dangers of spirits and other malevolent beings.

Lutz's discussion of Ifaluk ethnopsychology and emotional concepts is framed within a theoretical argument for the cultural construction of emotions. In chapter 3, she explores the concept of emotion as a "master cultural category in the West" that establishes an opposition between emotion and thought. The Western view, according to Lutz, is that emotion is antithetical to reason, that its occurrence is involuntary and uncontrollable, that emotions are linked to the physical side of the mind/body dichotomy, and thus that emotions are more natural and less cultural than thought. Lutz sees the "culturally constructed 'naturalness' of emotion" (p. 69) as an assumption of both everyday and academic Western discourse about emotions, grounded in a tradition of positivism that splits the world into matters of fact and matters of value. Challenging this assumption, Lutz's book attempts to demonstrate that emotional experience is not natural (in the sense of being precultural), but rather that "emotional experience is fundamentally structured by particular cultural systems and particular social and material environments" (p. 5). Hence the unfortunate title and subtitle of this work, which for the uninitiated reader appear, respectively, demeaning and grandiose.

Although Lutz does not deny the biological basis of emotional experience (see p. 210), her introduction in chapter 1 left this reader somewhat perturbed. Is she focusing on emotions or on talk about emotions? Lutz uses phrases such as "discourse about emotion" (p. 4) and "emotion words" (p. 10) alongside statements like "emotion [is] the focus of this study" (p. 4). She appears to be proposing that an anthropology of the emotions can access only "a *way of talking* about the intensely meaningful as that is culturally defined, socially enacted, and personally articulated" (p. 5; emphasis added). What then of all the emotional experiences that actors cannot well articulate, that are culturally ill-defined, that are articulated in nonverbal ways, or that are enacted privately?

Lutz's ethnographic observations consider some of these questions, and through her descriptions one gets a sense of the lived emotional experience of individual actors working as best they can with the emotional "scripts" they have learned. My only objection to this marvelous book is that I would have preferred more attention to the author's naturalistic observations of individual experience and everyday scenarios of emotions. For the Ifaluk, *talk* about emotional experience serves important rhetorical purposes by establishing moral evaluations and interpretations of events and actors. A compelling ethos of compassion, sharing, and anxious sensitivity to others is thereby invoked. Lutz depicts with

great skill the cultural ideals for emotional experience on Ifaluk, but shows less clearly how individuals continually operate within and around these cultural ideals.

Bronislaw Malinowski, *Malinowski among the Magi: "The Natives of Mailu."* Edited with an introduction by Michael W. Young. International Library of Anthropology. London and New York: Routledge. Pp. 355, 34 plates, index. US\$57.50.

Reviewed by George W. Stocking, Jr., University of Chicago

It is testimony to the power of Malinowski's mana as a "founding father" of modern British social anthropology that despite a reaction against his theoretical contributions more than thirty years ago, and a widespread feeling of disillusionment following the publication of his field diaries in the mid-1960s, his works have been a staple of the reprint industry and, more recently, the focus of a growing historical and interpretive scholarship. With the publication of this volume, and the anticipated appearance of material originally published in Polish, all the major pieces of Malinowski's oeuvre will have been made available to contemporary Anglophone readers over forty—a qualification necessary because several of them have since reprinting again gone out of print.

"The Natives of Mailu: Preliminary Results of the Robert Mond Research Work in British New Guinea," originally published in 1915 in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of South Australia*, was the first fruit of Malinowski's ethnographic apprenticeship, served over a four-month period beginning in September 1914. The text is re-presented here with admirably comprehensive scholarly care: copies of thirty-four original plates; comments on the changes introduced in the original typescript by several editorial hands (along with a facsimile page); sixty-six supplementary editorial notes commenting on issues raised in Malinowski's text; the full text of a letter written by Malinowski to the Mailu missionary, Saville; a lovely photograph of the mission house (unfortunately, only on the dust jacket); a substantial bibliography of printed and manuscript sources; and a seventy-five-page introductory essay.

Describing it as "an apprentice work, conventionally structured, hastily written, and between the flashes of brilliance, clumsy in style," Young does not present Malinowski's monograph as "a neglected mas-

terpiece, a forgotten classic." Its reprinting is justified rather "by the revival of interest in Malinowski during recent years" and "equally by its intrinsic value as the earliest study of an important cultural group in Papua New Guinea." That value must be left to specialists in the ethnography of coastal New Guinea to judge. For others, the main interest of the book lies less in the text itself than in Young's introductory essay. Writing in the context of a number of recent essays on Malinowski's career (with which he is thoroughly familiar), Young has nevertheless managed to come up with quite a bit of information previously available only in manuscript sources, including some hitherto unconsulted by students of Malinowski's early years, from which he quotes quite copiously.

In addition to the Malinowski papers at both the London School of Economics and Yale, Young has consulted the papers of two of Malinowski's mentors (the Haddon papers at Cambridge University, and the Seligman papers at L.S.E.), as well as those of the Mailu missionary who was the real-life model of one of Malinowski's stock of strawmen (the Saville papers at the Mitchell Library, Sydney), and the Malinowski file in the Australian government archives in Canberra. The latter, especially, is revealing of some of the negotiated complications of what Young calls "The Politics of Publication." Similarly, Young's comparison of surviving original fieldnotes with the published version reveals the extent to which the quickly-written monograph was directly dependent on observations Malinowski recorded in the field—as well as some intriguing instances of "self-censorship," especially in the case of "mildly salacious material." Drawing on several recent essays in the "writing culture" mode, Young also offers a discussion of Malinowski's rhetoric, with some interesting comparisons with the handling of similar material in *Baloma*, which Young suggests is transitional to *Argonauts* in the growing maturation of Malinowski's style.

The latter portion of Young's introduction consists of a discussion of other researches among the Mailu. Regarding the book Malinowski's erstwhile missionary antagonist published in 1926 (for which Malinowski in fact wrote an introduction), Young suggests that "to read Saville . . . is to re-visit the Mailu of Malinowski . . . accompanied by a more lively and discursive guide." In contrast, the Australian National University graduate student (B. L. Abbi) who visited Mailu in the 1960s seems, not surprisingly, to have done better on social organization. A decade later, a prehistorian from A.N.U., investigating the emergence of Mailu as a trade center, provided the basis for an explanation "for the anomalous local group organization described by Malinowski and

Abbi." Young concludes with his own analysis of Malinowski's failure to appreciate adequately the central cultural importance of the "big annual feast" called the *Govi Maduna*.

One might perhaps have hoped for a more systematic consideration of the "colonial situation" of Malinowski's fieldwork, which is here manifest largely through the considerable body of miscellaneous detail offered in the course of treating other topics. Otherwise, Young has brought together about as much as we need to know of Malinowski's maiden ethnographic effort—short of the kind of biographical and intellectual contextualization one might expect in a full-length biography of a man who remains, warts and all, one of the handful of world historical figures in the development of professional anthropology.

Harry H. Jackman, *Copra Marketing and Price Stabilization in Papua New Guinea: A History to 1975*. Pacific Research Monograph, no. 17. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, 1988. Pp. xiv, 281, maps, bibliography, tables, photographs, appendixes, graphs. A\$20.00.

Reviewed by Nancy McDowell, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Copra has played a significant role in the economic history of many Pacific nations, including Papua New Guinea. On a macroeconomic level, it was that nation's major export until the early 1960s, and it continues to constitute a not insubstantial proportion of Papua New Guinea's exports. It has also been a major factor in the introduction of Papua New Guineans, especially those in island and lowland areas, to various aspects of the Western cash economy. This book is a narrowly focused and detailed account of the economic history of copra and copra marketing in Papua New Guinea, from the beginnings of production in the early stages of contact to 1975. Jackman's approach is basically descriptive and chronological, and although one might wish for some additional analysis, the clarity and straightforwardness can only be appreciated.

Several themes interweave with the historical presentation. One is that copra and coconut-oil marketing and pricing can only be understood in the context of the world market. Jackman is careful to include not only copra production and marketing in this discussion; he places

copra in the larger context of oils and fats that compete with one another, such as palm, soybean, rape, and groundnut oils. The impact of various world marketing factors is carefully detailed. A second theme of general interest is the divergent concerns and behaviors of the three major constituencies active in copra production: the indigenous small producers, the plantation growers, and the large companies such as Burns Philp, Carpenters, and Steamships. The administration enters as a fourth—often mediating—player in the negotiations concerning regulatory issues such as the establishment of marketing boards and the stabilization of prices.

Following a short first chapter containing basic information on the nature of the coconut, copra, and how it is made, Jackman begins a chronological presentation of copra production and marketing. He starts with a description of early trading, the establishment of trading stations, and the beginnings of the big trading companies. He then describes the years of increasing village as well as plantation production, the growth of companies, and initial attempts to regulate the industry by administrative actions. He details the effects of World War I and the problems following it, such as shipping, unstable prices, and ensuring the production of quality copra. The history continues as the author details the development of centralized marketing and price stabilization schemes that evolved in the aftermath of World War II. The concluding chapter summarizes the author's main points and makes suggestions and predictions for the future.

Only once does Jackman veer from a strict chronological presentation. He takes a relevant detour in chapter 6 to describe the nature and history of the cooperative movement among village producers, including reasons for their successes and failures. As a former government official deeply involved with cooperatives, his information and insights are especially useful. He contrasts cooperative groups with individual entrepreneurs and wonders if the cooperative societies failed because of competition from rising entrepreneurs or because they were inadequately advised and guided.

The book, although narrowly focused, is an important contribution to the economic history of Papua New Guinea. It is carefully and methodically documented and detailed. The author pays meticulous attention to the differences between British Papua and German New Guinea, and follows significant problems (such as shipping and quality assurance) throughout the historical presentation. Although as an anthropologist I wanted more discussion of the impact of various regulations and events on the local level, I was also aware that I needed to be

reminded of the importance of global and national happenings and of the larger context in which local events took place. The chapter on cooperatives was especially insightful, and one can only hope that Jackman focuses his attention on their history in a future monograph.

Caroline Ralston and Nicholas Thomas, eds., *Sanctity and Power: Gender in Polynesian History*. Special issue of the *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 22, nos. 3–4, 1987. Canberra: Australian National University. Pp. 113. Paper, A\$11.00, US\$13.00.

Reviewed by Wendy E. Cowling, Macquarie University

The editorial board of the *Journal of Pacific History* is to be commended on its decision to allocate two numbers to a combined issue on aspects of the status and role of women in eastern and western Polynesia in pre-contact and early contact times. Given the paucity of published material on gender relations in Pacific history, this volume represents a valuable resource for tertiary teachers and students, and for those interested in the continuing work of recording and analyzing island history.

The five papers in this volume were originally presented in Suva at a session of the 1985 Pacific History Conference. All are written clearly and well. The historical approach represented is that which focuses on the concrete, including the meticulous construction of genealogies. There is little discussion or reference to theory, although feminist approaches to reassessments of historical accounts clearly provided a number of the writers with their themes. The writers have utilized archival resources in Europe, Australia, and the Pacific; accounts by explorers and missionaries; and oral histories and genealogies collected in the field.

The papers focus on high-born women and their access to and use of political power. As Ralston points out in her introduction, we have little information on “the lives and experiences of ordinary men and women or the transformation of gender relations in the post-contact era” (p. 115). Three authors deal with politics in western Polynesia (Penelope Schoeffel, Phyllis Herda, and Elizabeth Wood Ellem), one (Nicholas Thomas) discusses an eastern Polynesian society, that of the Marquesas, and the fifth (Niel Gunson) covers a number of eastern and western Polynesian societies, as well as nineteenth-century Madagascar, a non-Islamic Malay society.

Gunson’s paper surveys the role and status of chiefly women. He dis-

tinguishes between the relatively small number of "sacred female chiefs . . . largely restricted to Samoa, Tonga and Hawaii" and those high-born women who were designated "female headmen." Gunson states this allocation to or assumption of a leadership role by women was a relatively common occurrence throughout Polynesia. He stresses that such women were seen as women who had taken on the role, behavior, and character of men. He also believes, as did Bott (1981:8), that some Polynesian societies at certain times offered opportunities for the acquisition of power and status to some nonchiefly men and occasionally to high-status women.

Gunson considers the possibility of such "reversed gender roles" as "not difficult to explain in Polynesia" (p. 144). In his view primary socialization in Polynesia was not concerned with assigning specific gender roles. In support of this assertion he cites the nongender-specific naming of individuals and nongender-specific task assignment to children in households (pp. 144–145). I would take issue with him on his speculations regarding the phenomenon of men whom he calls transsexual, and whom I would prefer to term not-masculine men, that is, males who are feminine in presentation. *Some* of this category of men cross-dress, and *some* are homosexual in behavior (see Cowling 1986). He speculates that numbers of not-masculine men "may well have been" matched by numbers of not-feminine women in societies such as Samoa and Tahiti.

Utilizing a term coined by Oscar Lewis ([1946] 1970), Gunson also suggests that the apparent sexual freedom of many Polynesian women is evidence of "manly-heartedness" (p. 144). In some societies, such as Tahiti and Tonga, high-born women were able to be selective about their sexual alliances and to abandon them if they wished (see Bott 1981:63). While taking a number of lovers may be regarded by some in Western society as aberrant or as "male" behavior, I do not believe it can be taken as evidence of "manly-heartedness" in Polynesia, but simply as evidence of a different set of sexual mores.

In his discussion of *tapu* and gender in the Marquesas, Thomas emphasizes the tendency of nineteenth-century recorders of Marquesan culture to link most *tapu* to femaleness, and particularly to a femaleness that was out of place. For example, *tapu* was said to be breached if women passed over male-associated artifacts or the persons of males (p. 125). Thomas criticizes earlier accounts of Marquesan *tapu* for being too simplistic in their focus on women and women's menstrual blood. He explains that many *tapu* were associated with femaleness because the vagina was seen as the channel through which human beings

entered the world of the living, the domain of light (*ao*), from the domain of darkness (*po*). It remained the powerful link between the supernatural world and the world of the living. Apparently *tapu* was assigned to all women, particularly sacred women who were vehicles of the gods in Marquesan religion, and other women could utilize the concept of *tapu* to gain social power (p. 132).

Schoeffel and Herda both examine the histories of chiefly women in societies prior to sustained European contact. Schoeffel discusses the genealogy of a seventeenth-century woman paramount chief, Salamāsina of western Samoa. Her paper offers some thoughtful insights into previous scholarly work, such as that of Ortner (1982) on gender relations in Polynesia, and into previous accounts of precontact Polynesian cosmology and theology. Schoeffel locates the rationale of the ranking systems of Polynesian societies such as Tonga and Samoa in their origin myths, but considers that there was less emphasis on the duality or contrast of maleness and femaleness. Like Gunson she believes these principles were not separated in the cosmologies of western Polynesia, and if they were separate, they were not seen as positive and negative opposites (p. 176). Women, however, could transmit *mana*, godly powers, by the bearing of children, and women could transmit rank to these children. If the womb was seen as such a powerful vehicle, it is not surprising that there might have been a strong emphasis on the preservation of the virginity of some high-born women in Samoa and Tonga.

Salamāsina represented a combining of bloodlines of high-born Samoan families with that of the sacred chief of Tonga, the Tu'i Tonga, who was considered a descendant of the high god of the heavens, Tangaloa. Schoeffel depicts Salamāsina's elevation to the highest chiefly ranks as not so much by her own choice but as part of a dynastic consolidation by her relatives in opposition to the domination of chiefly families in Manu'a in eastern Samoa (now American Samoa). Nevertheless, in Samoan genealogical lore Salamāsina is the ancestress of several paramount chiefly lines, although her gender—and that of her daughter, who was the transmitter of the titles to Salamāsina's descendants—was not always acknowledged by male historians and others (p. 174). Matrilineal succession and descent from Salamāsina were fundamental to the transmission of major chiefly titles across the whole Samoan polity during the following four centuries, while local titles tended to be controlled by "localized descent groups and orator groups" (p. 191).

Herda's paper discusses a somewhat maligned Tongan chiefly woman, Tupoumohefo, who was a member of the lineage of the secular high chief, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and the principal wife of Tu'i Tonga

Paulaho in the late eighteenth century (p. 199). It seems that she was ambitious for her *kainga*, cognate kin, and for her lineage. Drawing on accounts by Cook and information contained in later Tongan histories that had been compiled from oral accounts, Herda gives a detailed picture of Tupoumohefo's rise to power. She announced herself as the Tu'i Kanokupolu during a time of political disturbance, following a rapid turnover in the holders of the title, and following (possibly) the death of her husband. By claiming the title she placed herself in opposition to a male cousin, Tuku'aho, a son of her father's younger half-brother. Technically she was Tuku'aho's sister and therefore outranked him. Tuku'aho was determined to ensure that his father, Mumui, would succeed to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. Tupoumohefo's assumption of the title started a civil war in which she and her faction were defeated. Gunson reports that following her exile to Fiji she married into an aristocratic Fijian family (p. 162).

Tupoumohefo was depicted by the early history reporters and recorders as being ambitious for herself as well as being concerned with ensuring the succession rights of her son, Fuanunuiava (surely a conventionally motherly action?). Her behavior was construed by the Wesleyan missionary and historian John Thomas as "unwomanly" and "odious in the extreme" (p. 207). Thomas had utilized written and oral information obtained from Tāmaha Amelia, a high-born descendant of Mumui and therefore of the rival branch of the lineage. Thomas had misunderstood the later Tongan condemnation of Tupoumohefo's actions: It was not that she was a woman who wished to rule, but that she came from the rival faction. Herda blames the false perceptions of Tupoumohefo's assumption of the title on nineteenth-century shifts in the role of women in Tonga due to missionary influence, and also on the missionaries' insufficient understanding of Tongan views of the function of the *kainga*. The present-day ruling family of Tonga is descended from the junior branch of the lineage that Tupoumohefo had attempted to prevent from holding the title.

I have to confess to a partiality for one particular paper in this volume. This is a study of the late Queen Sālote Tupou by Elizabeth Wood Ellem. Queen Sālote was a remarkable woman who made astute use of traditional Tongan concepts that attribute power and certain rights to the eldest sister, in addition to drawing on her own great abilities and political sense. This paper is part of a larger dissertation on the life and rule of the late Queen Sālote and her consort, Tungi (Wood Ellem 1981). Queen Sālote was able to fend off British colonizing interests as her father and grandfather had done. She did this by consolidating her royal powers and political control in Tonga during the first decade of

her reign, which began in 1917, and by her self-presentation as a woman in which, contemporary opinion averred, was combined the best of Tongan and European qualities. She was the descendant of one of the three primary lineages in precontact Tonga, that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and her marriage to Tungi Mailefihi allied her with another descendant of this line.

Wood Ellem outlines how Queen Sālote consolidated her authority and the inheritance rights of her descendants. She endured overt and covert challenges to her power and authority during the first decade of her rule, again not so much because she was a woman, but because, in the view of some other chiefly titleholders, she represented the wrong lineage.

Queen Sālote to this day is regarded as the foremost authority on Tongan traditional life and knowledge. She was able to fend off what she considered would be the ill-effects of modernization for the duration of her reign, and was responsible for the maintenance of a strong national identity in Tonga. Wood Ellem makes the point that Queen Sālote's gender was of primary importance in ensuring her accession and the maintenance of her authority. Her alliance with Tungi Mailefihi was another vital factor in ensuring the success of her reign and the maintenance of an independent Tonga (p. 219).

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Joan Metge, *In and Out of Touch: Whakamaa in Cross Cultural Context*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1986. Pp. 159. NZ\$19.95.

Reviewed by Tīmoti S. Kāretu, Māori Language Commission, Wellington

I first met Joan Metge in 1959 when I was in my last year as a student at Victoria University. I was introduced to her by Dr. Alice Dewey, University of Hawaii professor of anthropology, who was in New Zealand on sabbatical leave and staying with my parents while she pursued her studies. Since then Dr. Metge and I have met on a number of occasions, these occasions always being something to do with the Māori. *Nō reira, Joan, tēnā anō tāua.*

This book, I think, is timely in that it is available when relations between Māori and Pākehā are in a state of flux and are a matter of concern to some. It gives deep insight into a form of Māori behavior many Pākehā define as arrogance, sullenness, uncooperativeness, aggressiveness, and many other epithets. Such definitions, however, are formed without knowing, caring, or appreciating the Māori viewpoint. Much of the lack of understanding between Māori and Pākehā can be attributed to the Pākehā because of "their cool assumption that the Pakeha way of doing something is the only, the human, way" (p. 140).

Whakamā (whakamaa) is a feeling common to all people but is treated differently by different cultures. The word means "embarrassed, shy, ashamed, coy, humiliating," and is well illustrated by the many case histories Metge uses to support her arguments.

The exact definition is dependent upon the generation of the person and the degree to which that person grew up in a Māori society that was or is Māori speaking and behaved or behaves in a Māori way. The contention that urbanized Māori youth are unfamiliar with the concept is debatable—even if unable to articulate the feeling they certainly experience it, although their reactions to it differ from their rural counterparts.

Whatever the reaction to *whakamā* Metge states, "Properly handled, the negative aspects of whakamaa can be minimized and even turned to good account. Mishandled, whakamaa can be extremely damaging both to the whakamaa person and to the social fabric, especially when it becomes ingrained and chronic. Denied outlet or healing, it can erupt in violence" (p. 148).

The last statement is particularly pertinent to the urbanized Māori

youth who knows no other way to react to his or her *whakamā* except to, physically, strike back. He or she has not been brought up in the atmosphere where one accepts being *whakamā* as a consequence of one's having infringed ethically, socially, morally, "or deviated from a prescribed form of behaviour" (p. 94). Metge sums up the position of the urbanized Māori as follows.

It seems to me that an unduly large proportion of Maori, especially of those born and bred in the city, show the signs of chronic whakamaa. Whereas earlier generations of Maori, including many of the present kaumaatua, found reassurance and status in the Maori world to counter the whakamaa, the dis-ease, experienced in relation to Pakeha, many young people today know comparatively little about *ngaa tikanga Maaori* because their opportunities for learning about them have been limited. They are whakamaa in many Maori situations, feeling uncomfortable, uncertain and out-of-place, especially at the marae and in the presence of native speakers of Maori. At the same time they are whakamaa in relation to Pakeha because of the higher status of Pakeha as a group in New Zealand society and their reputed power and achievements in school, work and public institutions. Yet when Maori show this whakamaa in their dealings with Pakeha in power—teachers, welfare officers, bureaucrats and police—they are blamed and punished instead of being helped to handle it. They find reassurance and support mainly with peers who share their experience, but this increased emphasis on age grading, especially in the form of 'gangs', increases their alienation from both the Maori and the Pakeha establishments, even while it provides a way out. (P. 122)

While mainly about *whakamā*, its symptoms, its treatment, and its effects on the individual, this book also deals with related conditions such as *whakaiti* (humility), *whakahihī* (arrogance, self-aggrandizement), *mauri* (physical dimension of the body and senses), and *mana* (power, authority, prestige). Metge considers all these relevant to *whakamā*, which should not be treated in isolation but should be looked at holistically.

There are degrees of *whakamā*, each with its own suggested remedy. The danger is that people tend to translate *whakamā* by one word in English rather than taking into consideration all ramifications of the

word. Such is also the case with other Māori words mentioned by Metge. She warns against this practice of word-for-word translation, a warning with which I concur.

To treat the *whakamā* of people Metge lists five principles for serious consideration (pp. 144–146). Personally, I feel that they are not only relevant to the treatment of *whakamā* but should be compulsory reading for anyone contemplating dealing with the Māori. They are sound, common sense principles worthy of constant repetition and, if taken cognizance of, could do much to ameliorate the present situation between Māori and Pākehā.

To conclude Metge states, "While the concept of whakamaa is Maori in origin, the feelings and the behaviour covered by the term are familiar to all New Zealanders of varied background. And the aroha that plays so important a part in handling whakamaa is not inhibited by differences of ancestry or culture but reaches out to touch all those in need of healing" (p. 150).

Metge's style is easy and interesting to read, but to reiterate that this book is important for anyone who deals with Māori people is redundant and supererogatory. I recommend this book without any hesitation to all who care about race relations and to all who care about people. As the ancestors of Te Aupouri said:

*Kī mai ki a au he aha te mea nui o te ao,
Māku e kī atu he tangata!
He tangata!*

Ask what the most important thing is in this world,
And I will say people! People!

Kia ora tātou katoa.

Robert Langdon, *The Lost Caravel Re-explored*. Canberra: Brolga Press, 1988. Pp. x, 229, illustrations, bibliography, index. US\$35.00 hardcover. US\$25.00 paperback.

Reviewed by Barry Morton Gough, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada

The origins, evolution, and dispersals of the various peoples of the earth remain among the most fascinating puzzles that a scholar or sleuth can

face. Whether we are talking about the ancient origins of the North American Indian, the progresses of the lost tribes of Israel, or the unique developments of the Australian aboriginal peoples, despite considerable advances in scholarship we are still grasping at straws. As a young high school lad I became enchanted with Thor Heyerdahl's *Kon Tiki* (then in first edition) and the possibilities of American origins of South Pacific peoples; as a history professor I remain equally enchanted with works such as Nigel Davies's *Voyagers to the New World*. We need the likes of Heyerdahl, Davies, and Langdon to ask the questions, to get us thinking, to probe beneath our skins of complacent empiricism (which is another legacy of the same eighteenth century on which Langdon dwells so much for his evidence).

Providing satisfactory and convincing explanations is an altogether different matter than posing these questions. Langdon postulates—indeed re-postulates, because he really has not changed his views from the first edition of this work, *The Lost Caravel*, published in 1975, and here expanded—that many Polynesian peoples including the Maoris owe their origin to or are products of sexual unions between Spanish castaways of the Spanish caravel *San Lesmes*, which disappeared in the eastern South Pacific in 1526, and prehistoric native persons living throughout this vast waste of islands and waters stretching from Easter Island to the Tasman Sea. I am not convinced that mixed-blood unions could have so reshaped island populations as different as Easter Islanders, Tongans, and Maoris—to list but three—in the ten generations between the wreck of the caravel and the voyages of Samuel Wallis, John Byron, James Cook, and a number of other European navigators including Roggeveen, Bougainville, and La Perouse. I should have thought that would have taken millennia or more.

Langdon's premise that "most schools and universities, especially in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands, still teach the doctrine that the myriad islands of the Pacific were virtually sealed off from outside influences until the era of Captain Cook" (p. vii) may be true. But tell this not in Portugal, Spain, and Holland, and vouch it not among the scholars of ancient Chinese voyages or among the natives of Hawaii or Fiji. If Cook's voyages "opened" the Pacific to the European world, it is still true that the Pacific was already known to the Pacific peoples of that era. As we who teach North American and comparative Commonwealth native studies are wont to remind our students: "Columbus may have discovered America, but the natives knew it was there all along."

Langdon's book is a rapid ramble through a host of subthemes. A few of these that attracted my attention are: the French recovery of the four

cannon of Amanu (1929–1969); the early Spanish history of trans-Pacific voyaging (of which “the lost caravel” constitutes one chapter); the European discoveries of some paler-skinned Pacific peoples (which comprises a fairly hefty portion of this work); and, last, the attempted analysis of the origins of the Maoris (and a critique of Andrew Sharp’s thesis that Pacific Islanders had limits of effective navigability). Whatever the merits of Sharp’s hypothesis, can we be expected to believe that “the men of the *San Lesmes* . . . had ultimately been responsible for the creation of what is now called the Maori language . . . and within New Zealand their own language or languages had died with them, leaving but the merest trace” (p. 257)? It puzzles this reader that Langdon can speak with such authority in an area of research where the evidence is so scanty, so fragile. “Trying to explain the inexplicable in Polynesia,” writes Langdon in his penultimate paragraph, “has been something of an industry for many years.” Surely it will be so in the future, and it is not possible for one book—no matter how convincing—to reshape the received to the extent that its revelations will dramatically alter the totality of scholarship. That aside, Langdon’s argument that present-day Polynesians are really part European will find little credence among those who take more seriously anthropological and ethnological studies or who recount their true native origins by the ancient validation of the oral tradition. And they will take more comfort in the revelations of cross-cultural studies of the order of K. Howe’s and Greg Dening’s that endeavor to see Pacific history and Pacific peoples from the other side of the beach and sustain the argument that despite fatal impacts of one sort or another, native societies and languages remain where previously they were thought to have been changed beyond recognition or obliterated altogether. And one more thing: Tonga lies northeast, not northwest, of New Zealand.

Lynn Ann Davis, with Nelson Foster, *A Photographer in the Kingdom: Christian J. Hedemann’s Early Images of Hawai’i*. Bishop Museum Special Publication 85. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1988. Pp. 194, 142 plates, notes, bibliography, index. US\$38.50.

Reviewed by John Charlot, East-West Center, Honolulu

Lynn Ann Davis’s book is exceptional among recent publications in its pioneering subject, substantial text, and expert production. I found no typographical errors, diacritical marks are used for Hawaiian, the

reproductions are excellent (photographs are shown in their actual condition), and text and illustrations have been carefully coordinated. The book has been handsomely designed by Barbara Pope.

The text is clearly based on extensive research and personal knowledge of Hawai'i, which Davis distills into remarkably concise and deft descriptions of the political and socioeconomic situations of the different times and places relevant to her subject: life in Hāna and Honolulu, the relations between different ethnic groups, the place of Portuguese workers, anti-Asian sentiment, the local Danish community—its closeness in Hawai'i and its changing relation to the old country—and so on. The book provides some intimate looks at Hawaiians of all classes; Kalākaua warns some ladies that a party with hula dancers might get "too lively" (p. 31), and the king's party shares its large on-deck mattress with Mrs. Hedemann when she gets seasick (p. 39).

The subject of the book demonstrates the power of art to reorder our views of the past. Hedemann's photography was not mentioned in his obituary (p. 173) but is the reason he and his family become alive for us today. We see him working his way thoughtfully and competently through middle management as his family moves into progressively finer homes. We learn about commercial development and labor relations in Hawai'i from a personal perspective. But we also see the inner, artistic life of Hedemann the photographer, a life that had its own development, satisfactions, indeed triumphs.

Davis is able to understand the life of the artist—how art is created by a real person leading a life in his or her community—because she is herself a fine photographer as well as a museum administrator. She knows the technical and aesthetic problems of photography from the inside and can explain them to the reader. For instance, a new type of negative enables Hedemann "to take a relaxed portrait of his family in the parlor, without the assistance of studio lighting or head rests" (p. 56). Hedemann photographs the Hāna mill buildings so that "the early morning sun highlights the whitewashed structures, making the orderly buildings stand out against the canefields" (p. 44). By placing "his subjects off-center rather than squarely in the middle of the frame," he could produce "more complex and aesthetically more interesting compositions" (p. 81). In such sensitive study of the photographs, Davis is able to connect Hedemann's art to his intentions and his feelings.

She connects that art also to the international and local history of photography, using her unequalled knowledge of the field in the islands. Hedemann's portraits of ethnic types are examples of a widespread nineteenth-century interest (p. 54) (Hawaiians were in fact eager to be

photographed [p. 55]). In contrast to photographers elsewhere, Hedemann and his local colleagues emphasized the positive aspects of economic development (pp. 98, 127). Hedemann made the first extended photographic record of Hāna “or indeed of any sugar town and plantation in the islands” (p. 40) and the first photographs of mill interiors (p. 47).

Hedemann's photographs are of undoubted historical interest. Everything in them is useful to the student—from clothes, to furniture, to toys. Some photographs provide unique glimpses of politics and culture: Kalākaua giving an audience (plate 13), Lili'uokalani at a tense and important moment (plate 101), the interior of the Honolulu opera house (plate 76).

But Hedemann's work is of aesthetic interest as well, inspired by genuine emotions and informed by a definite artistic impulse (the beautiful “Judd Wharf” [plate 46] was in fact used as a basis for a 1977 mural by Mataumu Toelupe Alisa, “Panorama of Honolulu Harbor,” formerly in the Ali'i Bishop Building, downtown Honolulu). Davis is particularly good at showing the links between Hedemann's life interests and his photography.

First and foremost, Hedemann's professional work—both at the sugar mill in Hāna and the iron works in Honolulu—was a source of justifiable pride for him, his men, and his employers. This pride included an aesthetic feeling for their products. Theo H. Davies said of the first nine-roller sugar mill that it “seemed a treasured and beautiful thing to many of the men who had to do with its construction” (p. 148; also p. 67). Davis connects this feeling for work and product to the emotions expressed in Hedemann's photographs: “[Those] of the mill reflect personal pride in his accomplishments as well as the prevailing fervor of the steam age and Hedemann's love of ‘beautiful things for the sake of their perfection of design and intricate workmanship’ ” (p. 47).

Davis is able to interpret Hedemann's excellent photographs of machinery and workmen (for example, plates 27, 42, 45, 47, 51–53, 73) on the basis of his own statements and contemporary, optimistic ideas of society and industrialization. The photographs can convey to us such ideas and feelings with immediacy. “‘USS Nipsic’ on the Marine Railway” (plate 54) communicates the impression contemporaries must have had of the awesome bulk of the ship; yet even it could be controlled by knowledgeable human beings and lifted into drydock. “‘Repaired Rudder, ‘USS Nipsic’ ” (plate 55) records an achievement of Hedemann's Iron Works along with a sense of the almost frightening bigness, even grandeur, of their profession connected to the nationwide creation of the modern world.

Hedemann's next great interest in photography was his family. His portraits of his children became unusually straightforward over the years: They are caught going barefoot and spilling his photographs (plate 97); a girl surveys her doll collection like a *châtelaine* (plate 99). In the end, his photographs become almost snapshots, the kids playing despite their bulky swimwear just as we did, growing up in Hawai'i fifty years later. Unusually powerful—one cannot look at it for long—is "Mary Hedemann on Her Deathbed" (plate 91), which shows more than any other photograph I know the anguish of parenthood at that time of widespread child mortality.

Then as now, landscapes were a staple of local photographers, and Hedemann has a few postcardlike scenes (for example, plate 65). But his knowledge of the islands enabled him to choose interesting angles (plate 77) and, in his best photographs, to provide unromanticized views of places that appear physical and inhabited by real people (plates 61, 67). His appropriation of landscapes for picnics connects them to his emotion for his family (plates 112, 113; two particularly successful photographs), an emotion that leads him into the unconscious humor of plate 58. Hedemann's professional sense comes to the fore in "Chinatown After the Fire" (plate 62), in which his eye seems to be giving an expert's view of the damage and calculating the necessary repairs; the men lounging in the foreground seem to be waiting to be conscripted into the effort.

Lynn Davis's *A Photographer in the Kingdom* is one of the very best books written about the arts in Hawai'i. Davis has discovered an interesting artist for whom she has understanding and affection, and she has written—in superior prose—an exemplary description of his work in the social and historical setting of his life. She sets a standard for future work in the field.

Helena G. Allen, *Stanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844–1926*. Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1988. Pp. 283, illustrations, index. US\$19.95.

Reviewed by Ruth Tabrah, Honolulu

Regrettably this biography is not the hoped-for solid, well-rounded work that the remarkable life and personality of Hawaii's only president deserves. The jacket copy of Helena Allen's book relates that she spent six years combing the resources of Hawaii's research libraries for documentation of the life story of one of Hawaii's most colorful and

controversial figures. Research is, however, only the first step in producing a good biography.

In his essay on the art of the biographer that prefaces the 1979 Smithsonian Institution publication, *Telling Lives*, Marc Pachter, historian of the National Portrait Gallery, writes: "Distinguished biography . . . bears no resemblance to the voluminous, indiscriminate compendia of facts shoveled on facts in which the biographer buries alive both his hero and the reader." Had Mrs. Allen taken the time to sort out and digest her research notes, had she tried to see and experience the essence of this truly remarkable man (unlikeable as she seems to have found him), this might well have been the distinguished biography history owes Sanford Ballard Dole.

Professor Leon Edel describes great biography as presenting "the essence of a life." Marc Pachter writes, "the eye of the fine biographer, like that of the portrait painter, sculptor, or photographer, catches the special gleam of character. Through the biographer we encounter another human being, we feel the presence of a recognizable, approachable life."

Auwe! At the beginning of a chapter on "The Republic," Allen describes her own problem with the subject she somehow felt she must tackle (p. 209). In commenting on letters written by Dole while he was president of the short-lived Republic of Hawaii, the author writes, "The researcher must struggle to find the complete man—only the man with a mission remains." But, to this reviewer, it was a struggle to try to find what Allen felt Dole's real mission was.

Perhaps the author's initial mistake was to assume that her readers should first familiarize themselves with her *Betrayal of Queen Liliuokalani, Last Queen of Hawaii, 1838-1917* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1982). She clearly states that any background of Hawaiian history essential to understanding Sanford Ballard Dole should be retrieved from her prior work—a truly lamentable decision.

History does become vivid and Dole himself a vibrant human being when Allen uses several pages of direct quotations from his *Memoirs*, such as Dole's fascinating account of the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani (pp. 183-186). This is one of the most colorful, compelling, and well-written sections—but it was done by Dole himself!

A careful final editing would possibly have disclosed to Allen the contradictions she has allowed, such as her portrayal of Dole's reactions to King Kalakaua's 1881 trip around the world. First she states, "There was a great deal of opposition to his [Kalakaua] taking the trip by the haole. Sanford Dole wrote his brother George, 'It is ridiculous that the

King should think he can influence immigration to the islands. He is just going to satisfy his own desires' " (p. 115). A few pages later she reverses herself (and confuses the reader) by stating, "Sanford disagreed violently with the immigration, especially of Chinese and Japanese. Yet he did not disfavor Kalakaua's trip [around the world] to find more compatible immigrants with the way of life in Hawaii" (p. 157).

The author's insistence on completely separating Dole's personal and political life in her organization of her material gives a schizophrenic impression of Dole's character and a peculiar view of cause and effect as being her duty to sort out and proclaim. For example, describing the fall of Sanford's wife, Anna, from a horse during a 25 December 1874 ride the Doles took up Nuuanu Valley, Allen concludes, "Anna's robust health suffered greatly and her outgoing and vivacious nature began to change as a result of the fall. From that time on, Sanford's political life began to rise and his marriage to decline" (p. 87).

A noticeable gap in Allen's otherwise voluminous research is her rather skewed portrait of Sanford Dole's father. Pioneer missionary Daniel Dole is presented as a narrow puritan, a quite incapable man who could never learn the Hawaiian language. She does not seem aware that Daniel Dole was a man of wide scholarship and otherwise considerable linguistic talent. His translation from the French of Theodore-Adolphe Barrot's *Unless Haste Is Made* (republished in 1978 by Press Pacifica) is considered extraordinary.

To some future writer of a readable, insightful, scholarly biography of Sanford Ballard Dole this unsuccessful try by Helena Allen will provide a wealth of research clues. Otherwise her biography can be viewed only as a failed attempt.

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